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SPEECHES

BY

SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR

K. C. I. E.

DEWAN, BARODA STATE



INFORMATION OFFICE

BARODA



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PREFACE

In response to a request from public men in the State this selection of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar's speeches is being issued. The speeches present a picture of conditions in Baroda State in recent years.

2. The speeches in the first part of the volume are addressed to the members of the State Legislative Assembly (the Dhara Sabha) and through them, to the people of Baroda. In 1939, the new constitution was promulgated in the State: and in his speeches Sir Krishnamachariar explains the spirit that should animate those to whom its working is entrusted. Sir Krishnamachariar is a firm believer in democracy. "The whole world is changing and we do not know how institutions and ideals will be reshaped after the war. But one thing is certain. The future will be with democracies. The democratic form of government will survive." Again, "As His Highness the Maharaja has reminded us, this constitution is based on the complete identity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population. We, in Baroda, have built up, through long years under a great Ruler, a record of unity and co-operation and social justice of which we may be proud. I have every confidence that, continuing to work in this spirit of mutual trust and good-will and understanding, we shall strengthen these bonds and pave the way for further constitutional advance on lines suited to our own distinctive traditions, besides making a useful contribution to the common problems of India." To the general public in India who are watching with interest constitutional reforms in States, the review of problems in Baroda contained in these speeches may be found useful.

3. Another fundamental point he emphasises is that all aspects of the life of a people are inter-related. "We cannot separate the social and economic aspects of a people's life. There should be harmonious development of all sides." This gives the clue to the supreme importance attached by him to the removal of social evils

like untouchability and to the movement for reform of Hindu Law which culminated in an enactment which has made monogamy obligatory. This also explains his interest in rural development. A selection made from among his numerous speeches on this subject in part II may appeal to the public outside the State.

4. The speeches included under the head "General" show, among other things, Sir Krishnamachariar's faith in India's high destiny. In the first place, there are frequent references to the unity of India. "Through long ages, India has evolved a distinctive culture which is the joint creation and common heritage of all races and religions in it—Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Parsi." Then there are the economic bonds and the sense of common citizenship evolved in the course of over a century. Secondly, he insists India should take its rightful place in the British Commonwealth as a Dominion on a basis of equality with Britain. Thirdly, it is his belief that in such a Dominion Indian States have their place and can play a most useful part.

5. It is hoped that though these speeches are mainly addressed to the people of Baroda State, a wider public will find in them points of view that may be useful for the shaping of the future.

Baroda, }
December, 1942.

RAMANLAL V. DESAI
Information Officer.

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PART I
DHARA SABHA SPEECHES

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 21-4-27.

There has been nothing of importance in the administration since the last meeting of the Dhara Sabha. In answer to an interpellation, the Government have explained in what parts of the State postponements of revenue collection have been sanctioned on account of seasonal conditions. These concessions have been allowed in all areas in which after a careful investigation they were found necessary ; and the Government hope that the relief thus afforded will enable the ryots to tide over the present difficult season and commence the new one under favourable conditions.

I find from the questions addressed to the Government that many of the members of the Sabha are exercised over the proposed prohibition of transshipment in connection with our Kathiawar ports. Members have, no doubt, already learnt that this proposal has now been abandoned. His Highness' Government are confident that in any schemes that may be formulated for the future, the rights secured to us by treaties and other engagements will be fully safeguarded.

Among the subjects referred to you for advice at this session is a scheme for the establishment of land mortgage banks, which has been prepared by a Committee appointed by the Government. The proposals of the Committee are far-reaching in their character, and His Highness' Government will be grateful to you for your considered views, not only on the policy of the measure, but also on the particular form of organisation recommended for adoption.

I do not propose to detain you with any further prefatory remarks. I would only say that His Highness' Government value your co-operation, and they appeal to you, and through you to the enlightened public outside, for assistance in the work that lies in front of them in the resuscitation of village panchayats, in improving the scheme of free and compulsory elementary education that is in opera-

tion in the State, in adapting the principle of co-operation to the varied needs of the peasantry—in short, in the manifold activities which are summed up under the term “rural reconstruction.” As the late Mr. Gokhale has said :— “ There is work enough for the most enthusiastic lover of his country. On every side, whichever way we turn, only one sight meets the eye, that of work to be done : and only one cry is heard, that there are but few faithful workers.” Here is a field for fruitful endeavour—in which all of us, officials and non-officials, can work together for the public good and on behalf of His Highness’ Government, I cordially invite your co-operation, and that of the educated public outside, in this great task.

AT THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 13-10-27.

It is my privilege to welcome you to the first session of the Assembly for this year. Since we met last, the State in common with the rest of Gujarat has passed through a calamity which, both in its intensity and the extent of the damage caused, has been unprecedented.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was deeply distressed to hear about the loss of life and property caused by the floods and immediately cabled a direction that relief should be administered to sufferers in a spirit of generous sympathy. He also graciously announced a large personal donation. During the last few weeks we have been in close and continuous correspondence with His Highness. His Highness has naturally taken the deepest interest in the measures organised from time to time for meeting the situation in the affected areas of the State ; and most of these have, indeed, been adopted under his personal guidance and instructions and in pursuance of the policy already laid down by him for meeting such unexpected disasters. In his last letter to me, written just three weeks ago referring to the scheme of reconstruction published by the Government, His Highness

has expressed the hope that his subjects would take the fullest advantage of the concessions offered. Her Highness the Maharani Saheb, besides giving largely to the relief fund, has been following with sympathetic interest the relief measures adopted by the Government, and all the members of Their Highness' family have been and are assiduous in their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the sufferers.

I should like to take the opportunity to express publicly my admiration for the indomitable courage and the spirit of helpfulness displayed by the people even in the worst affected areas, of which I have personally witnessed most striking instances. In this spirit His Highness' Government have the best guarantee that, with cordial co-operation between Government and the people, the difficult task of re-constructing the affected areas will be successfully accomplished.

His Highness' Government also desire to express their indebtedness to the Relief Committees, composed of officials and non-officials working together in close union all over the State, which have done excellent service under trying conditions. Their assistance has been of the utmost value to sufferers. The problems in Baroda city are peculiarly difficult and in their solution, the City Committee under the enthusiastic leadership of Prince Dhairyashil Rao and the Ladies' Section under Princess Shakuntala Raje have rendered signal assistance. To the public who have contributed generously and without stint to relief funds—especially to the people of the Navsari and Amreli districts—we cannot adequately express our obligations.

The measures adopted by the Government for the relief of immediate distress, for help to agriculturists in re-sowing their lands and rebuilding or repairing their houses have been published in the *Adnyapatrika* from time to time, and it is unnecessary for me to detail them here. Immediately after the floods, Government sanctioned half a lakh of rupees for granting relief to those who had been rendered destitute, and the greater part of this amount was spent in the days following the floods. Every public office, school or dharmashala in the affected areas was thrown open for providing temporary shelter. Permission was granted to villagers to fell trees and remove sand,

stone, kunker etc. on Government land for bona fide building purposes, and this concession, with assistance from Government grant and the several relief funds, enabled villagers to provide themselves with temporary accommodation in the worst affected villages.

To enable agriculturists to re-sow their fields, the work of distributing tagavi was begun within a week after the floods and a number of special officers were sent down to each Taluka to attend to this work expeditiously. Altogether about five lakhs have been distributed under this head. All these loans are to be without interest and repayable in suitable annual instalments varying from two to ten years according to the amount of the loan, as laid down in tagavi rules. A sum of rupees one lakh has been sanctioned in addition to the previous amounts for advancing tagavi for the rabi crops in the Kadi district and the allotment necessary for the Baroda district is being ascertained. In the mean time we have sanctioned Rs. 30,000 for potato-cultivation in Chhani and adjoining villages in the Baroda district.

The most important question is, however, that of re-housing. All of you are in possession of the details of the scheme framed by Government for this purpose. The enquiry into the applications for loans will be completed in a short time. Check inspection by superior officers is in progress and Government expect to be in a position to disburse loans as soon as the season for rebuilding commences. Free grants for building materials to the poor will also be given at the same time.

An important problem in connection with the work of rebuilding is the organisation of the supply of building materials at reasonable prices. To stimulate the manufacture of bricks and tiles in rural areas in order to meet the exceptionally heavy demand that will shortly arise, Government have undertaken a comprehensive survey of all areas suitable for the purpose and decided to allow concessions like remissions of fees on sites, free grant of fuel from Government land, transport of materials at concession rates on railways etc., to those who manufacture bricks and tiles, either for their own use or

for sale at rates fixed after consideration of all the circumstances. Government have also advanced loans aggregating to half a lakh of rupees without interest for six months to local associations or individuals for organising depots of building materials in certain centres under conditions which would check profiteering. Similar applications from other centres are under consideration.

It has been noticed that in many villages and towns houses belonging to depressed classes like Bhungees, Chamars and Waghris stand on low lying areas liable to be flooded in years of heavy rain. Wherever possible, arrangements are being made to provide them with higher and more sanitary sites for rebuilding their houses. In this connection a comprehensive scheme is being prepared for the City of Baroda which I hope will improve some of the worst areas in it. It is also proposed to utilise a portion of the generous personal donation of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb towards the rebuilding of the worst affected villages on the banks of rivers on entirely new sites with broad roads and open spaces and sanitary dwellings.

It is gratifying that health conditions in the urban and the rural areas after the floods have not been seriously affected. Eight medical officers have been specially deputed to tour in the Districts to disinfect wells and ponds and to take anti-malarial measures. The panchayats have also been requested to pay special attention this year to the re-sinking or repairing of wells and to revise their programmes in such a way as to include as many as possible of these works within their jurisdiction.

The rains we had about two weeks ago have been general throughout the State and have improved the prospects both of the kharif and rabi crops in most areas. Let us hope that the rest of the year will prove favourable to agriculture.

His Highness' Government trust that, with the co-operation of the people and of enlightened gentlemen in this Council and outside, their measures for solving the difficult problems before them will be successful in their aim.

The most important lesson of the floods is the need for making sustained efforts to promote all the activities social and economic—which are comprised in the term “rural construction.” On this subject I ventured to make a few remarks in the first speech I had the privilege of addressing to you. It is my fervent hope that there will be a ready response to the appeal I then made for co-operation with His Highness’ Government in the task of wiping out illiteracy in rural areas, revivifying village panchayats, turning the co-operative movement into fruitful channels, improving cottage industries and in other ways raising the standard of rural life.

The two special questions which are set down for discussion at this meeting have indeed an important bearing on the question to which I have just referred. The first of these is the report of the Committee on the Early Marriage Prevention Act. The second is, Rao Bahadur Govindbhai’s report on the working of the Compulsory Education in the State. We cordially welcome your assistance in coming to a decision on the difficult questions raised in these reports. It is impossible to overestimate their importance to the social well-being of our people.

I shall now request you to commence the regular business of the House.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 26-4-28.

As you all know, His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, in spite of indifferent health, took the earliest possible opportunity after his arrival in India to visit all the important flood-stricken areas. He took the most lively interest in the execution of the reconstruction schemes and availed himself of the opportunity not only to hear the representations of the people in regard to flood relief measures, but

also to ascertain their views on the provisions of some of the important legislative measures that are now on the anvil. His Highness was also pleased to hold a special Durbar to express his appreciation of the splendid work done by those, who during the floods, laying aside all thought of personal safety, assisted in saving the lives and properties of their brothers and sisters.

Substantial progress has been made in the execution of the flood relief measures sanctioned by Government. The figures I give below are for the period ending the 31st March. Out of Rs. 24.15 lakhs sanctioned for housing loans to individuals (as opposed to co-operative societies) Rs. 21.58 had been disbursed by the date mentioned to 22,338 applicants. A balance of a little over Rs. 2½ lakhs remained: amounts out of this are now being disbursed as each applicant puts in a statement that he has expended his first instalment of loan and this is verified. Out of the amount of Rs. 3.62 lakhs set aside for gratuitous relief for rebuilding, Rs. 2.89 lakhs had been actually disbursed to 7,362 persons (not including the City). Besides these, loans for rebuilding purposes amounting to Rs. 3.89 lakhs have been advanced to about 44 co-operative flood relief societies. The work of gratuitous relief and disbursement of loans is proceeding rapidly and it is expected that all payments will be completed by the middle of May. The tagavi loans for re-sowing have come to a total of Rs. 6.90 lakhs.

It is a matter for gratification that the situation created by the floods has been considerably relieved by the excellent harvests of this year in most parts of the State. The price of cotton has also maintained itself at a comparatively favourable level.

Health conditions in the State have also been good on the whole. In Gandevi plague made its appearance about two months ago. Precautionary measures were taken promptly, with the co-operation of the people, and according to the latest reports, the epidemic is dying down, and there have been no new cases for some time.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION 9-5-29.

Important bills like the Income-tax Bill, the Factory Bill and the Land Records Bill had been referred to select or other committees and representations of the public on two of them had been invited. These bills became ripe for consideration by the Sabha only recently, and in the month of April the new elections to the Dharasabha had to be held.

I extend a most cordial welcome to the new members who have been returned at the recent elections and to the sitting members who have been re-elected. I also take this opportunity of thanking the old members, who have not been re-elected, for their co-operation with His Highness' Government and the valuable services they have rendered.

The official year opened with good seasonal conditions and the monsoon crops were excellent. But unfortunately a severe frost visited large areas of the State in the month of January which caused considerable damage to the late winter crops. His Highness the Maharaja was pleased with his usual generosity to grant relief on a liberal scale and I am glad to see that the concessions have been gratefully appreciated by the agriculturists. I trust the ensuing monsoon will be a favourable one and the difficulties caused by the situation will soon be tided over.

We shall now commence the business of the session.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 19-12-29.

The season has proved disappointing and portions of Kadi and Amreli districts have suffered from serious drought. In addition, the villages in northern Kadi have been affected by the locust pest. When apprehensions began to be entertained about the state of the season, crop inspections were commenced in all the affected areas and, as a result of the reports received, Government have sanctioned relief in the Amreli district—the details of which will be seen from the notification published in the Adnyapatrika. Proposals have also been received from the Kadi district and these are being considered; and necessary orders will be issued shortly. In both districts agriculturists will require assistance in the form of takavi for seed, maintenance, etc., and this will be given on concession terms and arrangements will also be made for starting seed depots.

Members have given notice of three resolutions about the nakas in Kadi and Amreli districts. These questions are intimately bound up with the question of our port rights in Kathiawar which is now under correspondence and members will easily understand that any discussion of them at this stage would be inexpedient in the public interests. Full opportunities for discussion will be afforded when a settlement has been reached on the main question.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 11-10-32.

On behalf of His Highness the Maharaja, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to this, the first session of the Dhara Sabha for this year. We have a most useful agenda before us. In addition to interpellations and resolutions, we have to consider such questions of far reaching importance as property rights of women under the Hindu law, amendments in the law relating to Hindu marriages in regard to age and prohibited degrees of relationship, and registration of medical practitioners. It is unnecessary for me to say that the Government will attach the highest value to the advice you give.

I should like to say how grateful we are to Rao Bahadur Govindbhai for presiding over the Committee on property rights for women and placing at our disposal his unequalled knowledge of the problems that are vital to the well-being of our society. To his colleagues on that Committee we are also deeply indebted. Rao Bahadur Govindbhai is also assisting us as president of Committees for dealing with diksha among Jains and the question of relaxing the restriction of marriages within "gols"—problems of the utmost complexity.

It is unnecessary for me to state again His Highness' policy of enlisting the co-operation of the people in the task of administration. All measures of Government are framed in the interests of the people, and in the framing of them, we give the fullest opportunity to all interests affected to state their views and we consider them with the utmost sympathy. In the network of local bodies of all kinds we have in the State—village panchayats, prant panchayats and municipal councils, in the District and State communication boards, in the school Committees, in the many Committees we appoint ad hoc for the consideration of important social economic and other questions that arise from time to time, and last but not least in the Dhara Sabha, we have an effective machinery for securing this close and continuous co-operation.

Let me single out the Dhara Sabha and give figures which show how the resolutions put forward by the members are received

by His Highness' Government. I have given these figures on another occasion, but am sure they will bear repetition. In the last five years, 574 resolutions in matters of general public interest were moved by the members. Of these, only 34 were defeated. The rest were either accepted by the Government or withdrawn by the movers because they were satisfied when the relevant facts were explained to them or when Government stated the action they were prepared to take. I think this is a record which is to the credit of all the parties alike, and which shows how little foundation there is for the criticism one hears—I admit that this is heard only occasionally—that the advice of the members is not accepted freely.

I shall conclude these remarks with one observation. Our administration is concerned with a large range of activities. Some of the social problems which are engaging our attention, I have already referred to. Then there are the economic questions in which in recent years there has been widespread interest—agricultural improvements, co-operation, subsidiary industries, rural reconstruction activities, communications. We have then the great social experiment of popular education. In all these fields, there is the widest scope for social service in which workers are needed in thousands, and His Highness' Government welcome the co-operation of all those who have the interests of the State at heart in the constructive work that lies ahead

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 19-1-33.

At this meeting we have invited you to consider Bills and reports dealing with social legislation of great importance. The first of these is the report of the Committee presided over by Rao Bahadur Govindbhai on property rights of Hindu women. This report, as you know, proposes changes in the law of property-holding by women, as a measure of social justice. The Government are anxious, before they proceed to formulate their scheme, to ascertain the views of the Dhara Sabha on all the issues raised in the Committee's report. Another subject is a Bill which aims at stopping unequal marriages—marriages in which there is disparity of age between the two parties. We have again a Bill which deals with the prohibited degrees of relationship in Hindu marriages. It is felt that the present restrictions are unnecessarily strict and that a relaxation of the same is likely to be beneficial to society. Lastly, there is yet another measure—a law relating to property rights of illegitimate children.

Turning to another class of legislation we have the Bill for registration of medical practitioners and a second for amending the Insolvency Act.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 9-10-33.

The whole of India is following with the deepest interest the proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the proposals for Constitutional Reform in India. As the Committee have not completed their labours and submitted their report, it would be premature to attempt anything in the nature of a survey of the questions entrusted to them. I shall content myself with making just three points of a general character.

The first is this. The White Paper proposals are the outcome

of joint consultations which have been taking place during the last three years and more, and they constitute a genuine attempt to deal with the tremendously difficult problem of India's constitutional progress towards Dominion Status. To whittle them down or to attempt to impose on India a scheme to which Indian opinion has not agreed would have the most serious consequences in this country and plunge it into political discord at a time when it is imperative that all energies have to be directed towards organising measures, in a spirit of co-operation and good will, to meet the world-wide economic depression.

My second point relates to central responsibility, which is a cardinal feature of the White Paper proposals and which has aroused opposition in some quarters. Responsibility in the centre, at the present stage, is to be in the economic field,—railways, posts and telegraphs, coinage and currency etc. Economic policies are hereafter to be decided in India by a Government responsible to the legislature—subject to safeguards for ensuring the maintenance of the credit and solvency of the country and for the avoidance of commercial discrimination. Writing in 1918, the authors of the Montague Chelmsford Report devoted a whole chapter to an elucidation of the reasons for “the real and keen desire for fiscal autonomy in India. In the last 15 years this feeling has gained enormously in strength and spread to large classes of the population whom it had not touched before. Some of the causes which have led to this are worth stating. The chief among these is the industrial expansion which has taken place in the intervening period. In 1918-19, the paid-up capital in the cotton industry was below Rs. 20 crores and now it is over Rs. 40 crores. There are other industries like jute, coal, tea and iron with a similar record. The significant fact, however, is that brought out by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee when they say that investors for industrial securities “are drawn from a very wide circle including all classes of people from princes and millionaires to clerks and shopkeepers.” In the same way the Government rupee loans floated in these years and the post office cash certificates have numerous small investors. All of them follow with much interest the effects of economic policies and vernacular papers devote many

columns to such topics. The feeling referred to in the Montague Chelmsford Report is now very wide-spread and it is high time that responsibility is placed on the legislatures in India for the formulation of economic policies subject to the essential conditions already referred to. The part played by India in regard to the Ottawa agreements and the presence of the Japanese and Lancashire delegations in this country to negotiate trade agreements are indeed a demonstration of the inevitability of this development.

We here are more specially interested in the position of the States under the White Paper. In regard to this, I consider that the proposals of the White Paper on the constitutional, financial and other relations between the States and British India in an All India Federation are on the whole equitable to both sides. The financial aspects were specially considered by two Committees (The Eustace Percy and Davidson Committees) and the scheme that has emerged from the Third Round Table Conference may be regarded as a fair settlement of the conflicting interests.

I shall now come to the subjects that will be before you at this session. A Committee under Rao Bahadur Govindbhai examined the system of " gols " and made recommendations. These have now been embodied in a Bill which will be taken up after the resolutions. In 1926, the Dhara Sabha appointed a Committee to consider amendments to Hindu Law. The result is seen in the Bills before you, comprehensive measures which cover a wide field. I shall be glad to know from you, when the Bills are taken up, what in your view would be the best way of expediting the progress of this legislation.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 17-1-34.

This session has been called for the purpose of considering the Bills placed before the Dhara Sabha some time ago for the amendment of Hindu Law. As members will recollect, a Committee was appointed by the Dhara Sabha for submitting proposals in this regard. The Committee has completed its work and the Bills before you embody its recommendations. I feel sure that you would like me, on behalf of the Government and all of you, to express our obligation to the members of the Committee for the thoroughness with which they have dealt with the important questions which they were called upon to consider. The burden falling on Mr. Dhurandhar has been particularly heavy and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking him specially for the care with which he has prepared the Bills now before you.

It is unnecessary for me to explain the policy of His Highness' Government with regard to social legislation of this kind. Our policy is, while respecting and retaining intact the fundamental principles of Hindu Law, to effect such changes in it as may be called for by the changing conditions of society. This principle should be borne in mind when we deal with the amendments before us.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 245-35.

Since we last met, the agriculturists in most parts of the State sustained losses on account of the severe frost in January last. To afford relief to the distressed agriculturists, His Highness the Maharaja was graciously pleased to order the following relief measures :—

DISTRICT.	REMISSIONS.	SUSPENSIONS.
1. Baroda.	8,01,929.	11,30,102.
2. Navsari.	3,94,681.	9,17,576.
3. Mehsana.	8,61,180.	8,59,740.
4. Amreli.	...	99,431.
	<hr/> 20,57,790.	<hr/> 30,06,849.

Past arrears of revenue dues amounting to Rs 16,56,910 have also been suspended in all the districts.

For granting relief in urgent cases of destitution an amount of Rs. 23,500 was sanctioned for distribution as free help.

District committees have been appointed for starting relief works in the frost-stricken areas to provide work till the next cultivation season begins.

Orders have also been passed to allow to the people free use of the water of the Wadhvana Tank and tanks in the Savli taluka for raising distress crops. Cultivators of the villages situated on the canals are allowed to take water from the Wadhvana Tank free of charge to fill up village tanks. These concessions have been extended to other tanks in the State.

Rs. 50,000 have been advanced for starting depots for cotton seeds in the Navsari district.

Lastly a sum of Rs. 7.97 lakhs has been sanctioned for tagavi loans to agriculturists.

I am glad to see the resolutions tabled by several of you, expressing your gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for the generous

relief measures which he has sanctioned. It will be a sincere pleasure to me to convey your message to him.

Among the subjects referred to the present session of the Dhara Sabha are the reports of the Committees appointed to consider :—

- (i) the question of the discontinuance of the ' bajavani fund ' charged in connection with execution proceedings, and
- (ii) the prevention of marriages in which there is disparity of age among the contracting parties.

The drafts of the following two Bills which were published in the Adnyapatrika of 31st January 1935 for eliciting public opinion will be also placed before this session for consideration :—

(i) The Agriculturists' Debt Regulation Bill

(ii) Bill for restriction of expenditure on ceremonies etc. .

The first of these is a measure of far-reaching importance, framed with the object of giving relief to agriculturists at this period of depression.

The second measure seeks to introduce a reform, the need for which has been repeatedly urged on Government. Whether the particular form in which it has been framed is suitable is for you to consider.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 12-9-35.

This year the monsoon made a good start. Subsequently, however, there was a long break which caused some anxiety. But in the beginning of the current month we had again excellent rains almost all over the State. This has considerably improved the season prospects.

As you are aware, at a meeting of the leading Sardars, officers and citizens of the State held at Baroda on the 30th June 1935, it was resolved that the Diamond Jubilee of His Highness' reign should be celebrated in a fitting manner and that a permanent memorial should be raised on the occasion as a mark of our love for His Highness and to commemorate the epoch-making character of his rule.

The consensus of opinion at the meeting was that this memorial should take the form of a Rural Reconstruction Trust, so that the largest number of the people of the State might be benefited. His Highness' interest in the welfare of the rural population is well-known and the proposed scheme will serve the object most dear to His Highness and do untold good, especially in these days of depression in agriculture. From the income of the Trust, assistance will be given for imparting practical training to rural workers and sons etc., of agriculturists in all aspects of rural problems—improved agriculture, co-operation, subsidiary industries. It will also be the function of the Trust:—

- (i) to assist agriculturists to carry out on their farms improvements taught to them,
- (ii) to co-ordinate the activities of the Government and of private agencies engaged in village uplift and to stimulate them by giving grants, etc.
- (iii) to employ research workers to carry on investigations to supplement those done by Government or in new directions,
- (iv) to organise intensive work and propaganda among the villagers by sending out trained men to live among them, and

- (v) in other ways to assist in bringing about a change in the outlook of the villagers, as this is an essential condition to all progress.

A large fund is essential for the successful working of any such scheme and I have no doubt that the subjects of His Highness will do all they can to assure the success of the scheme.

I am glad to note that some of the members of the Dhara Sabha have put forth proposals to celebrate this unique occasion in a fitting manner.

Among the subjects referred to the present session of the Dhara Sabha are the reports of the Committees appointed to consider the drafts of:—

- (i) the Pre-emption Bill,
- (ii) the notification regarding restrictions on caste-dinners, and
- (iii) the Agriculturists' Debt Regulation Bill.

It is felt that the law of pre-emption in the State leads to considerable difficulties in practical working and often to avoidable litigation. The first of the above measures is meant to remedy this state of things.

The second aims at placing restrictions on unnecessary expenses on caste dinners. The Select Committee's report is before you for consideration.

The object of the third measure is to afford relief to indebted agriculturists.

A Bill to amend the Land Revenue Code will also be placed before this session for consideration. It makes it obligatory on superior land-holders when remission or suspension is granted by Government to pass the relief on to inferior holders.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 30-4-36.

Since we last met, the State has witnessed the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of His Highness the Maharaja's accession in which the Dharasabha as a body took a prominent part. It is unnecessary for me to say anything about these celebrations; the events connected with them are fresh in the minds of all of you. You will be interested to hear that the Peoples' Fund has a balance of about six and half lakhs of rupees, after meeting the expenditure on celebrations throughout the State. As already decided, the income from this fund is to be devoted to rural uplift in the State. The sub-committee appointed for the purpose has drawn up a scheme which will be duly published. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all those who have supported the fund so generously.

You will all remember the gracious message of His Highness the Maharaja on the 3rd of January in which he announced a gift of one crore of rupees to be called "The Sayajirao III Diamond Jubilee Trust", the income of which is to be devoted to improving the conditions of life of the rural population, especially those of the poor and depressed classes, supplementing the amounts which would be progressively devoted to such purposes in the regular budgets of the State. A scheme for the working of this Trust is under preparation.

I should like, on behalf of Government, to express to the members our warmest thanks for the extremely valuable work which they have done in the last four years.

In the field of legislation, measures of far-reaching importance have been placed on the statute-book. Let me mention the most important of these. I shall group them under three heads:—

First, there are the amendments made to the Hindu Law. One set of these laws have enlarged the property rights of Hindu women, marking a great step in the advance of our society. Another set aims at removing unreasonable restrictions on marriage, adoption etc. The importance of these laws will be realised more and more as their effects are felt.

Secondly, I shall mention a group of laws the object of which is to remove well-known abuses in our society. In this category falls the Sanyas Diksha Restraint Act, which penalises the initiation of minors into Diksha. Then there is the Caste Tyranny Removal Act. This prohibits unhealthy forms of intimidation exercised in the name of the caste. These laws seek to strengthen the hands of reformers and to educate society in the need for healthy changes in old institutions to adapt them to the progressive needs of modern conditions.

Thirdly, I would mention the laws passed for the betterment of the conditions of agriculturists in the State. The Agriculturists' Debt Regulation Act deals with the indebtedness of the rural population and enables courts to go into the history of the debts and pass equitable decrees. The Rent Regulation Act enables Government to fix equitable rents and prevents expropriation of tenants in backward areas. Another important legislation is the one regulating the relations between the holders of Ankadia villages and their tenants, protecting the latter against rack-renting and eviction. There is then the law preventing fragmentation of agricultural holdings which gives a right of pre-emption to an adjoining owner when a holding which is uneconomic comes on the market. Lastly is the law which entitles the cultivating tenant to the benefits of suspensions and remissions granted by the Government in times of distress.

I think this is a record of work for four years of which any assembly like this has reason to be proud. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of these measures in the present stage of our society. Speaking for the Government, nothing has been more gratifying than the broad-mindedness displayed by the members in the discussions of these vital issues. I earnestly hope that all of you will continue this good work by undertaking educative propaganda in villages and helping the villagers to shake off the fetters of unreasonable customs and superstitions. Without this, all talk of economic reconstruction of the country-side is bound to be futile.

Your influence is also felt steadily on every-day administration. The non-official members moved 391 resolutions, out of which 204

were withdrawn and 14 were rejected by the Dhara Sabha, leaving a balance of 173. Out of these 173, 26 were congratulatory resolutions. As regards the remaining 147, the Government have accepted 83 and given effect to the recommendations of the Dhara Sabha; 38 are still under consideration; 26 have not been accepted by the Government. These resolutions covered the whole field of administration—the majority of them relating to land revenue and education. The figures given above indicate the high value of the co-operation between the officers of Government and the members of the Dhara Sabha.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 3-9-36.

I welcome you to the first session of the Dhara Sabha for the current year. Some of you have been newly elected. I extend a cordial welcome to the new-comers. Your vast experience of the general public life coupled with a calm and collected reasoning and forethought will, I am sure, be of very great value in the deliberations of this Sabha.

This year, the monsoon began well in the latter part of June, but the current subsequently weakened and except for a few showers there has been a long break. We want another spell of rainy weather very badly. Let us hope that there will be sufficient rains in the current month to improve the agricultural outlook. We are watching the situation closely and anxiously and if need be everything possible will be done to meet the situation.

Among the resolutions submitted to this Sabha there is one which relates to the outrage attempted some weeks ago against the person of His Majesty the King Emperor. This Sabha's gratitude to Providence for protecting His Majesty and congratulations to His Majesty on his lucky escape will be duly conveyed through proper

channel for submission to His Majesty.

Among the Government Bills referred to the present session of the Dhara Sabha are :—

- (i) Bill to control stray cattle and
- (ii) the Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code.

The first measure is intended to remove the hardship and loss caused to the cultivators by the stray cattle. The second aims at reducing the delays caused in the disposal of civil suits by the failure of the witnesses to appear before the Court for one reason or another.

Before sitting down I have great pleasure in presenting to some of the then members of the Dhara Sabha the Diamond Jubilee Silver Medals awarded by His Highness on that auspicious occasion to all the members of the then Sabha, Most of the members have already received these Medals. The following six are presented to-day :—

- (1) Mr. Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh,
- (2) Mr. Manibhai Vasanji Desai,
- (3) Mr. Shriniwas Ramchandra Jade,
- (4) Mr. Lallubhai Kishorbhai Patel,
- (5) Mr. Kisanji Ganpat Kamle, and
- (6) Mr. Rasulkhan Husainkhan Pathan.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 2-3-37.

Parts of the State suffered during the cold spell which occurred in January last. Thorough inspections of the areas have been made and proposals are being formulated for measures of relief.

The rules for both the Trusts connected with the Diamond Jubilee—His Highness the Maharaja Saheb's Diamond Jubilee Trust and the Sayaji Rao III Diamond Jubilee Peoples' Trust—have been published. The first year's grants under the latter trust have been settled and the list will be published shortly.

Among measures of importance which have been introduced in the last few months may be mentioned the arrangements made for bringing the agriculturists into closer touch with the improvements which have been tried out and found successful on the Government farms. I am arranging for the Director of Agriculture to explain to you the details of the plan Government have set up for this purpose. I feel sure that not only the members of the Dhara Sabha but all others in the State who are interested in improving the economic condition of agriculturists will co-operate with Government in the great task.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 26-7-37.

This year the monsoon has made a good beginning and the rains have been sufficient so far all over State. In a few places the rains have been a little too heavy, but no widespread damage or loss of lives has taken place.

On behalf of the Government two Bills are referred to the present session, viz :—

- (1) The Bill to amend the Hindu Adoption Act, and
- (2) Bill to control stray cattle

The first aims at unifying the field of choice of adoption among Hindus. It restricts such choice in order to ensure that the family property descends to a member of the family and, only in the absence of such a relative, to a member of the Varna.

The object of the second Bill is to impose an effective check on the damage done to agricultural crops by stray cattle.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 25-7-38.

This year the monsoon set in earlier than usual and all parts of the State had fairly good rainfall in the beginning of June. After the first outburst of monsoon there was a break which caused anxiety for a while. But now there has been a resumption of rains and this has relieved anxiety about season conditions.

The Government have two Bills for consideration at the present session, viz :—

- (i) Bill to amend the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act.
- (ii) Bill to amend the Registration of Marriage and Divorce Act.

The first measure aims at incorporating in our law the important principles recently introduced in British India, in the law on the subject. The object of the second measure is to amend the law so as to make the registration of a marriage under the Marriage and Divorce Act a sufficient proof of the marriage.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 12-12-38.

This autumn opened for us in most anxious circumstances. Words cannot convey the extent of our concern that His Highness the Maharaja Saheb should have been so suddenly stricken by a serious illness. From all parts of the world have come tender inquiries and heartfelt good wishes and throughout our State, of which His Highness is the inspiration and the creator, prayers rise incessantly from all classes and creeds for his early recovery and return to the midst of those to whom he has, with loving care and unwearying solicitude, devoted his long life. The convalescence and complete recovery of the Maharaja Saheb will necessarily take time, but I am glad to be able to assure you of definite progress. His Highness has charged me to say to his beloved people that he has been deeply touched by the many signs of devotion and loyalty and that their loving kindness is a great consolation and help to him. We all pray that His Highness may be spared to us for many years to witness and to guide the consummation and consolidation of his lifelong labours for his State and his people. May our care and devotion be to him a constant reminder of our deep affection.

In a session towards the end of last year, three members proposed resolutions affecting the Dhara Sabha. Those resolutions will be fresh in your memory, and I need only recall that they sought the representation of some interests and made suggestions in regard to the effect to be given to resolutions moved in the Sabha. When examining these, His Highness' Government felt that there was justification for a genuine measure of constitutional advance: and, in order to secure a comprehensive exploration of the subject, they decided to appoint a representative Committee with the widest possible terms of reference. This Committee commenced work in February, and it is a matter for *congratulation* that appreciable progress has been made and that its report is expected shortly. I need hardly say that the Government will give careful and sympathetic consideration to its recommendations. The policy of His Highness' Government is the close association of the people with the administration and the satisfying, to the fullest possible extent, of aspirations which are the direct outcome of the enlightened

policy of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb.

Perhaps you will permit me to remind you of two general considerations of cardinal importance in this connection.

Baroda as a State has developed on lines of its own, with traditions, individuality and culture of which there is reason to be proud. It has been well said :—" Every constitution emerges from the spirit of a people through an inward progress of development; or rather every constitution is the spirit of a people." Few men have pondered more deeply over States and their problems than His Highness the Maharaja Saheb and I commend to you the following extracts from a recent speech of his :—

" There should be no striving after a soul-destroying uniformity. We are often reminded that it is unsafe to generalise about India and if the mere observer needs that warning, far more weighty is it in the vastly more important domain of administration. We all want to develop naturally, each according to the path of evolution on which he has set out....."

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" In many fields of activity—mass education, reorientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting communal and other interests—the States with their distinctive traditions can embark on fruitful experiments; and it would be a pity to do anything which would deprive India of this wealth of political and administrative experience. While, therefore, I rejoice that the vision of a united India is about to be realised, I cannot but feel that his realisation would be bought at too high a price if it involved the sacrifice of individuality...I want to see India developed with the splendid diversity of her mountains, and not with the barren monotony of her deserts. "

Another consideration is this. Governments in India have two essential duties and will stand or fall according as they succeed or fail

in them :— First, the harmonious development of the masses, their economic and social well-being, and the raising of the general level of prosperity. Second, the welding of communities, castes and creeds, and the evolution of a common citizenship out of the welter of classes. His Highness' message to his people at the time of the Diamond Jubilee is a record of what has been achieved in Baroda in these directions. But naturally much still remains to be done, and it is for us to ensure the ordered progress and continuity of policy which alone can help us to realise these ideals more fully.

Let us tackle our problems with co-operation and goodwill and in a spirit of unity. Disunity can never create unity, and the best way to achieve co-operation and goodwill is, again in the words of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, "to discard suspicion and to go forward in faith, having before us the sole ideal of a prosperous and contented country and eschewing those differences which tend to keep us apart."

For this session, we have two important Bills—the Hindu monogamy Bill and the Bill to amend the Registration of Marriage and Divorce Act.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 3-7-39.

Since we last met, the State has had to mourn the loss of a great Ruler whose qualities made him one of the outstanding figures of our times. What Baroda is to day, Sir Sayaji Rao III made it through many years of devoted work and his rule will long be remembered as the golden age in Baroda's history. There is no need to recount his services to the State and to India generally. These are fresh in our minds; and we shall always remember with gratitude the high ideal he set before us of a life dedicated to service of his fellowmen, his hatred of all forms of injustice and his reforming zeal and intense patriotism. We, members of the Dhara Sabha, beg respect-

fully to associate ourselves with the numerous tributes of respect and affection paid to the memory of the departed Ruler.

In his gracious message of the 20th February, His Highness the Maharaja Pratap Sinh Gaekwad outlined the scheme of constitutional advance to which he had given his assent. The necessary preliminaries have been actively taken in hand and it is hoped to complete the delimitation of constituencies, the preparation of electoral rolls and other details within the next few weeks so that the elections under the new scheme may be held soon. The present will be the last meeting of the Dhara Sabha under the existing Regulations.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 16-II-40.

His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to send you the following message :—

“ In My message dated the 20th February 1939, I announced My assent to a scheme of constitutional advance as a further step in the policy of association of the people of the State with the Administration. In pursuance of this, the Government of Baroda Act was promulgated on the 1st February 1940 and today the Dhara Sabha established by the Act is inaugurated.

“ On this important occasion, I desire to send you My congratulations and sincere good wishes for success in your labours.

“ As I said in My proclamation, the new constitution is based on the complete identity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population. I have every confidence that this spirit of unity will actuate all your deliberations and that the new constitution will advance the material and moral progress of My people.

“ I shall always watch your work with the keenest interest. ”

May I add my own cordial felicitations and good wishes ?

The war is now uppermost in our thoughts and I should like to refer briefly to our efforts in connection with it. The policy of His Highness' Government is one of cooperation, in the fullest measure, in the active prosecution of the war. Immediately on the declaration of war, His Highness the Maharaja placed all the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty the King Emperor for its successful prosecution. This step was not taken merely in discharge of treaty obligations—these of course are binding and should be and are fully implemented—but because it is universally recognised that the moral principles on which civilisation is based are at stake in this struggle. In the words of His Highness the Maharaja, " This is a war against wanton aggression by a regime of national and racial arrogance based on ruthless tyranny. The war is for ideals and ways of life for which the Empire stands and for the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together. Our attitude is due to the spontaneous loyalty we feel for the cause. "

Thanks to the skill and courage of the Royal Air Force, the war has now entered on a new phase. As the Prime Minister said, " Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed to so few by so many. " We should like to pay our tribute of admiration to the resolute calmness and courageous determination which the people in Britain of all classes are showing against the enemy's air attacks.

In April, His Highness the Maharaja gave a donation of rupees six lakhs for war purposes: this was later raised to £ 50,000 and this amount has been placed at the disposal of His Majesty the King Emperor for a flight of fighters with which the name of Baroda will be associated. His Highness has now offered a second donation of £ 50,000: the manner in which this should be utilised is under consideration. Besides this, he has assisted other funds like the Lord Mayor's fund in London. His Highness has also invested Rs. 25 lakhs in interest free defence bonds and Rs. 30 lakhs in the defence loan.

Assistance in other forms is also being given. His Highness offered the 2nd infantry of the State for service: this has been accepted

and this unit is now proceeding on war duty. He has also agreed to raise and train one Mechanical Transport Company for war service. I may add that, for the duration of the war, His Highness has agreed to the force stationed in Baroda under the treaty of 1817 being used elsewhere, should the exigencies of the defence situation render this necessary.

The people of the State have been most generous in their help. The Bank of Baroda has invested Rs. 41 lakhs in the defence loan and other business establishments and private persons have invested large amounts in the interest free loans and defence loans as you will have seen from the weekly bulletins. The contributions to the war gifts' fund now stand at Rs. 1,15,000. Out of this, a sum of Rs. 22,235 has been donated for five ambulance cars for use in India. Civic guards have been enrolled in important centres of the State. A weekly bulletin, containing war news and accounts of war efforts in the State is published and has a wide circulation reaching the remotest villages. I should like here to express the appreciation of His Highness' Government of the valuable work done by the members of the Central Committee and of the subcommittees thereof—the Defence Loans and War Gifts Committee, the Propaganda Committee, the Civic Guards Committee and the Ladies' Committee.

I have spoken on other occasions on the general issues connected with the new constitution and do not propose to detain you with any lengthy remarks. As His Highness the Maharaja has reminded us, this constitution is based on the complete identity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population. We, in Baroda, have built up, through long years under a great Ruler, a record of unity and cooperation and social justice of which we may be proud. I have every confidence that, continuing to work in this spirit of mutual trust and good will and understanding, we shall strengthen these bonds and pave the way for further constitutional advance on lines suited to our own distinctive traditions, besides making a useful contribution to the common problems of India.

As President of the Dhara Sabha and head of the administration

under His Highness the Maharaja, my services are always at your disposal: and I assure you of my unfailing interest and whole-hearted cooperation in your efforts for the uplift of the people of the State.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 4-3-41

I welcome you to the second session of the Dhara Sabha for the current year.

We are all following the course of the war with keen and anxious interest. The campaigns in Africa, in which troops from this country are taking part, conceived and executed with daring and brilliance have led to the collapse of Italian Africa. The valiant Greeks have not only defended their native soil but have carried the war into the enemy's country, assisted by the British forces. We have once again had signal proofs of the efficiency of the R. A. F. in these weeks. In all this there are grounds for gratification, though it is well to recognise that the war is soon to enter on a phase of increased aggression and of even greater violence on the part of the Axis powers, calling for larger sacrifices and more sustained efforts on all sides.

Coming to our own war efforts, in my speech at the last meeting, I referred to His Highness the Maharaja's second donation of £ 50,000. This has been devoted to an object directly connected with the defence of India and applied to the purchase of a trawler for minesweeping and submarine detection purposes for the Royal Indian Navy to be named, "Baroda". The second infantry continues to be on war duty and the training of the Mechanical Transport sections is in progress. The war gifts' fund stands now at over Rs. 1.70 lakhs and the Central War Committee and the Sub Committees continue their useful work. The weekly bulletin of the Propaganda Sub-Committee is steadily gaining in circulation. The civic guards are

being trained at all important centres of the State.

The season was favourable except in northern Mehsana and Okhamandal which suffered from insufficient rainfall. In these areas, suspensions and remissions have been sanctioned besides other relief measures which include increased tagavi loans and tank, road and other works. The details have already been published in the State gazette.

Members will recall that the Government appointed a Committee to suggest measures for improving the economic conditions of the north Mehsana district. On their report, the Government sanctioned a comprehensive programme comprising (i) renewals and repairs to irrigation works, (ii) soil conservation and dry farming, including intensive tree-planting, and (iii) schemes for rabari colonisation etc. In the last year, work commenced on the schemes laid down and the Government have directed that funds should be allotted every year till the entire programme is completed. In this connection I invite the special attention of the members to the press note recently issued on "soil conservation."

The Vijapur scheme of tube-wells under the grid system is under execution and orders have been placed for the electrical plant : in the meantime, irrigation will be arranged from five wells with the help of oil-engines. The Manekpur project in the Navsari district has been completed and the Umra project is in progress. The Mithakhadi project in Okhamandal is also making good progress. Questions have been asked by individual members about the Sabarmati project and the Zankhri project. The former is under discussion with the Bombay Government. The detailed investigation of the Zankhri project has been completed and it is now proposed to get the estimates scrutinised by an expert specially selected for the purpose.

Members will be interested to know that good progress is being made with the construction of the Tuberculosis sanatorium and that the works will be finished in about six months. The works taken up by the "Shri Maharani Shantadevi Trust" are also in full swing and it is expected that the eleven new institutions to be opened will be in

working order in less than a year. It gives me sincere pleasure to acknowledge the generous support given to both these movements by the public of the State.

His Highness the Maharaja sanctioned a Foundation to perpetuate the memory of our late illustrious Ruler, for the study of Indian culture and civilisation at the Benares University. You have all read the objects of the Foundation and the terms in which the offer was made. You will be glad to learn that the eminent Indian philosopher Sir Radhakrishnan has agreed to be the first Professor under the scheme.

I shall now deal with the work before the present session. An important Government Bill is the Cotton Control Bill. The object of this is to maintain the purity of the 1027 cotton in the Navsari district. In the last five or six years we have completed our arrangements for seed supply for the whole tract and the State selling organisation has shown that a substantial premium can be secured for pure cotton of this type. I need not dilate on the importance of this Bill for the economic well-being of the district. The next is the Securities Contracts Control Bill. The statement of objects and reasons already circulated explains the need for this. There is also the Wakf Bill which is framed on the model of similar legislation in British India. I am very glad to see that motions have been made for important private Bills and look forward to the discussions on the principles underlying them.

I now invite you to commence the business of the session.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 15-9-41.

I welcome you to the budget session of the Assembly. I am sorry that the meeting had to be postponed owing to the interruption of communications caused by the floods.

Detailed statements of receipts and expenditure have already been circulated to you with explanatory memoranda. In the remarks that follow, I shall only invite attention to the salient features of the budgetary position.

In 1938-39, the Government undertook a comprehensive examination of the financial position of the State. This was necessitated by two reforms carried out in that year. The first was the reduction in land revenue announced by His Highness the Maharaja. As members will recall, in his announcement of the 20th February 1939, His Highness the Maharaja made permanent the temporary reductions ordered in December 1938 in the land revenue assessments in order to meet the hardship caused by the fall in agricultural prices. This scaling down of the assessments was responsible for a reduction in the total land revenue of the State by about 20 per cent. Including the consequential reductions in barkhali and other lands, the total loss of revenue involved was Rs. 23.65 lakhs a year. The second was the remission in favour of prant panchayats of (i) four pies of land cess deducted as their contribution for primary education, involving a loss to the State revenues of Rs. 2.75 lakhs a year and (ii) the expenditure the prant panchayats were incurring on veterinary relief amounting to Rs. 0.29 lakhs. The total remissions and concessions thus amounted to Rs. 26.69 lakhs a year.

Two main reasons enabled the Government to grant these extensive reliefs without crippling the activities of the development departments and restricting the range of social services rendered by the State. The first is the careful management of the finances for many years under which a policy was carried out of building up a reserve for the State to enable it to meet emergencies like flood, famine, etc., without disorganising the normal activities of the Government. It must be mentioned that, between the years 1927-28

and 1937-38, these reserves were strengthened by approximately Rs. 150 lakhs. Secondly, the Customs agreement of 1936 set at rest the longstanding dispute with the Government of India about the Customs duty on goods imported at, and exported from, the Baroda State ports, and the extent of the retention by the State of customs' receipts on goods so imported. The main features of this agreement were described as follows by the Honorable Sir James Grigg in his statement before the Legislative Assembly :—

“ An agreement has also been concluded with Baroda, whereby the State will retain the revenue from customs duties levied on foreign goods imported at its ports, subject to a maximum equal to the estimated revenue derived from the consumption of such goods in the territories of the State.

“ Foreign goods which have been imported at British Indian ports and there subjected to customs duty will be admitted free of duty to the territories of the State, and goods which have paid duty at the State's ports will be admitted free of duty into British India.

“ British Indian ports and State's ports will thus be free to serve their economic hinterland without any obstruction arising from the necessity of securing that the customs revenue from particular imported goods accrues to the State or to the British Indian treasury, according to the location of the markets to which the goods are consigned.”

The agreement also settled the status of the ports of Navsari and Billimora. The customs revenue of the State has increased as a result of the settlement. The agreement includes besides a provision for the refund to the State of duty on salt consumed in the Gujarat territories. The duty refunded has amounted to Rs. 5.68 lakhs a year, commencing from 1935-36.

As a result of the examination of the budgetary position above referred to, the Government ordered the adoption of two measures in 1938-39 :—

- (i) The first is the constitution of a State Reserve Fund. Out of the liquid assets of the State, Rs. 350 lakhs are set apart, to form a reserve. The policy is to utilise this amount for schemes of remunerative capital expenditure.
- (ii) The second is the formation of a separate Land Revenue Equalisation Fund. Land revenue forms a main source of income to the State, and seasonal vicissitudes have their repercussions on the State income. In the last decade, for example, deficient or irregular rainfall, attacks of frost etc., have unfortunately been common and Government have had to grant remissions and suspensions on a fairly large scale, dislocating the budget estimates. To avoid this, a Land Revenue Equalisation Fund has been created. A scrutiny of the figures shows that the demand of the State under land revenue, may be fixed at Rs. 95 lakhs. An Equalisation Fund is being built up taking this as the normal figure. If the actual realisations from land revenue exceed this standard, the excess is added to the fund; if on the other hand, the receipts fall short of the standard, the deficit is made good by drawing upon the fund. To start with, the fund was credited with Rs. 50 lakhs from the savings of the State. Fluctuations under land revenue will thus cease to affect the working of departments.

Members will observe from the explanatory memorandum circulated by the Accountant General that this policy has worked satisfactorily in the years, 1938-39, 1939-40 and 1940-41, in spite of the dislocation caused by the war in the last two years. The relevant facts are set out in the memorandum and need not be repeated here.

I now come to the budget estimates for the year 1941-42.

On the receipts side, three points are worth mentioning.

Firstly, under land revenue the provision made is the basic figure of Rs. 95 lakhs. The Government do not anticipate any increase in the revenues under this head unless there is a marked change in the level of agricultural prices as the result of world movements. As you

know, all resettlements have been held in abeyance by a decision arrived at in 1929-30 when depression began.

Secondly, in regard to commercial departments we have followed the usual practice of exhibiting in the budget estimates only the net revenue. Chief among these departments is the railways in which the Government have invested about Rs. 553 lakhs. The net revenue after providing for depreciation is expected to be Rs. 21 lakhs. It will be remembered that many of our lines are intended to be "protective" i. e. to open out backward areas. The railway depreciation fund has a balance of Rs. 26.04 lakhs and the railway reserve of Rs. 25.70 lakhs. The Electric department is expected to show a net income of Rs. 3 lakhs; the Port of Rs. 0.80 lakhs, the Press Rs. 0.36 lakhs, and Irrigation Rs. 0.04 lakhs.

Thirdly, the figure of Rs. 19 lakhs shown under "Interest" needs explanation. Our policy is to invest the State reserve in remunerative schemes of development, so that the State may derive nearly the same income as it does at present. Owing to the territories being scattered, such schemes take time to mature: but the policy is being steadily pursued. Immediately after the war is over, we propose to take up the installation of a steam-turbine electrical plant for the Baroda district for which detailed plans and estimates are ready. The first instalment of the Vijapur scheme of electrically driven tube wells is already under operation. Another electrical scheme e. g. the Umra project is also under execution. The Zankhri project was recently reported on by two experts engaged for the purpose: their report is under examination.

I now proceed to the main features of the budget on the expenditure side.

First: Under the Government of Baroda Act, the normal expenditure of the Army including the pensions and gratuities has been fixed at Rs. 22½ lakhs a year. In 1941-42, however, owing to the war this expenditure will be exceeded, thus necessitating a special contribution from the general revenues. A sum of Rs. 6 lakhs has been included under the head "Miscellaneous" for this and other expenditure

connected with the war. This supplements the ordinary Army budget for the year 1941-42. A fixed civil list has been a normal feature in the State for many years : on this no comments are needed.

Secondly, for some years past His Highness' Government have adopted a policy of specially increasing the allotments for nation-building departments, maintaining at the same time a close control over the expenditure in other departments and effecting all possible economies in the latter. You will find evidence of the continuance of this policy in the present budget. For education we have provided Rs. 40 lakhs as against the revised estimate of Rs. 38·80 lakhs for 1940-41. This includes increased provision under salaries of teachers of primary schools, grants to institutions, additional scholarships for courses in agriculture and animal husbandry etc. The Government have under consideration important schemes for the development of the Technological Institute, remedying the difficulties experienced by State students in obtaining medical education, technical high schools in districts, commercial education etc. For agriculture, the budget provision is Rs. 7·50 lakhs as against Rs. 7 lakhs in the revised estimates for the last year. The Administration Report describes the varied activities of the department. We have farms in the main areas of the State and an elaborate organisation for linking up agriculturists with the improvements tried out and found successful in the farms. Among the new activities may be mentioned the extension of the work at the agricultural institute at Baroda, scheme of grass improvement, Rabari settlements, and the encouragement of sugarcane cultivation at Gandevi. The Co-operative department is developing cotton sale societies. The reconstruction of societies has also been successful. Members will recall the special programme of improvements ordered for northern Mehsana district to meet the effects of the shortage of rain in this area in the last few years. The works comprised in the programme are being carried out as arranged, over a term of five years. Coming to the major industries of the State, the textile industry has been helped by the stimulus given by the war. The cement factory at Dwarka is increasing its output and proposes shortly to manufacture about 1,90,000 tons a year. The Tata Chemicals have not been able to get all their machinery owing to the

conditions created by the war : manufacture is expected to start before the end of the year. The programme of minor industries for the year is sketched out in the memorandum. The Medical and Sanitary departments also receive increased allotments—Rs. 10.64 lakhs as against Rs. 8.73 lakhs last year. The new schemes are described in the memorandum. On the medical side we hope to build the T. B. Sanatorium and the 15 maternity institutes included in the programme of the Trust. On the sanitary side we have taken up anti-malarial schemes and schemes of rural sanitation.

Members will notice the great part played by the three commemoration trusts—(i) The Diamond Jubilee Trust, (ii) The People's Diamond Jubilee Trust and (iii) The Sayaji Rao Memorial Trust—in the reconstruction activities of the State.

The works comprised under the Diamond Jubilee Trust are making progress. The village schemes on which Rs. 2½ lakhs a year are spent are under execution by prant panchayats ; headquarters schemes and the backward area schemes which are in charge of the departments concerned and which together account for Rs. 1 lakh a year are also making good progress.

The People's Diamond Jubilee Trust gives scholarships to agriculturists for training in the agricultural institutes, cottage industries institute and in subsidiary industries.

The development of the Technological Institute is the main scheme proposed to be financed by the Sayaji Rao Memorial Trust for the coming year.

I should like specially to mention to Members two organisations recently brought into existence. The first is the Anti-Tuberculosis Association in Baroda. Its aim is, in affiliation with the Central Association under the auspices of Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow, to carry on the campaign against tuberculosis in the State. The Association has received generous support from the public and the Government have every confidence that, as soon as the sanatorium which is being built in Baroda is completed, larger support will be

forthcoming. The second is the Shri Maharani Shanta Devi Trust. This Trust is now embarking on a programme of 15 maternity institutions. I commend to you and, through you to the enlightened public of the State, the beneficent activities of these bodies.

Summing up the financial position generally, it may be considered satisfactory. The war will affect anticipated sources of revenue like the customs' receipts but it is hoped that the dislocation caused will not be serious and that the Government will be able to carry out the development programme they have embodied in the budget. We are however working fully up to the limits of our receipts.

Since the budget was prepared, parts of the State have suffered from floods. The action taken to afford relief in the affected areas has been announced. A special officer is at work in the Navsari district investigating conditions and granting relief. The Government propose shortly to publish a report describing the extent of damage and the expenditure on relief. Meanwhile resowing is completed in most areas and rains fell from the 10th to the 12th August in all parts of the State which improved agricultural prospects. Since then, however, there has been a prolonged break in the monsoon which is causing serious anxiety in the Amreli district and Okhamandal. More rain is also needed in parts of the Navsari district.

Since we last met, the war has come nearer to our own country. The operations in Iraq and Syria are now completed. In these countries and in Africa, Indian troops have played and are playing a notable part. We have had another instance of Germany's contempt for pacts in the barefaced aggression against Russia. The grim resistance offered by that country to the mechanised forces of Germany is the outstanding event of the war. It is "a great national uprising" which has impressed the imagination of the world. All of you have no doubt read with interest about the historic meeting between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill and the joint declaration of the two great democracies for meeting "the dangers to world civilisation arising from the policy of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other govern-

ments associated therewith have embarked." On the 25th August, British and Indian troops entered Iran for reasons the justice and compelling necessity of which have been universally recognised. There again are the moves on the part of Japan which are causing concern. With the theatre of war expanding and coming closer to India, there is the most pressing need for larger sacrifices and more sustained efforts on the part of every one in the country.

We now come to our own activities. Members will recollect that His Highness the Maharaja gave a contribution of £ 50,000 for a squadron of spitfires. This squadron "Baroda" is now in service with the R. A. F. The H. M. I. S. "Baroda" for which His Highness the Maharaja gave £ 50,000 is expected to be launched early in October and will take its place in India's defence. The 2nd Infantry continues to be on war duty. The Mechanical Transport sections have completed their training and left Baroda for joining service. The State has undertaken the training of technicians in the Kalabhavan and the Railway workshops. His Highness the Maharaja has subscribed Rs. 20,755 to H. E. the Governor of Bombay's war gifts fund and Her Highness the Maharani Rs. 10,000 to Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow's Silver Trinkets fund. The State war gifts fund now exceeds rupees two lakhs. This fund has given a donation of Rs. 50,000 for the purchase of five armoured carriers to be named after Baroda. Investments from the State in interest-free defence bonds have amounted to nearly Rs. 25.20 lakhs and in the defence loans to over Rs. 80 lakhs so far as ascertainable. The war committees are doing good work and the civic guards movement is becoming more popular. The weekly bulletin of the Propaganda Sub-Committee is being more and more widely read. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all the committees, on behalf of the Government, for their most valuable work. We are now organising A. R. P. measures and are glad that volunteers are coming forward readily to undertake the duties assigned to them.

I now invite you to commence the business of the session.

REMARKS AT THE BUDGET SESSION OF THE DHARA SABHA,
17-9-41.

We have had discussions for two days. They have been very useful. My experience is that general discussions of the budget are apt to be uninteresting. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, the Governments of Provinces and States in India have their sources of revenue practically fixed and also the rates. Taking our own case the land revenue has no capacity for increase. We have to conform to the customs tariff in British India and the maximum and minimum railway rates under the Railways Act. This latter is not merely because of treaty obligation. It is an essential condition of development. Variations in these matters will deter investment of capital in the State. There should be assurance that rates of taxation will not be changed frequently but will continue undisturbed over a long period if we want industrialists to establish business in the State—to start new industries and develop existing ones. For example, the Tatas have established one of the most important key industries in India—the manufacture of heavy chemicals, and have already spent over Rs. 125 lakhs on the works and the machinery. We cannot expect such industries to be established, unless there is an assurance that our income-tax rates for example will continue unchanged over a long period. Secondly, it is difficult to take a comprehensive view of a many sided administration—come to a balanced judgment after taking a broad survey. The tendency is to concentrate on isolated features and ignore others equally or more important.

In spite of difficulties inherent in such debates I have no hesitation in saying that several of the speeches have been most useful and the discussions have maintained a high standard. It is usual on such occasions to compare Baroda with other parts of India. I myself spend much time in making such comparisons and asking myself what we have to learn from other Governments. And I may say that speaking generally the State can compare favourably with most other parts of India in regard to equitable adjustment of the burden of taxation and its expenditure on social services. Such comparisons involve considerations of great complexity as there are many factors

involved. I do not know whether members of the Dhara Sabha have seen a number of interesting articles published in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society which show conditions in the State in relation with adjoining British India. They furnish a useful conspectus. I also read the other day in the "Servant of India" a comparison of expenditure on development departments incurred by different Governments in India. Members may read these articles if they are interested in such comparisons. I say all this, first of all, to give a general warning against accepting figures too readily for purposes of comparison regarding the burden of taxation in different parts of India without looking into local conditions. To get a clear picture it is necessary to take into consideration the level of expenditure on social services, etc.

Some remarks were made about industrial development. There can be no doubt that the Government of Baroda are doing all they can to foster industries. Page 17 of the memorandum gives details about industries assisted. When we receive proposals for establishment of industries, they are subjected to a detailed examination as regards their prospects. If these are satisfactory we are ready to assist. Our policy of development can bear comparison with that of any other Government and the results have been most encouraging.

I may make one more remark. We should bear in mind the words of the proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja which laid emphasis on the identity of interests of the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population. This is the fundamental basis of our reforms. As I listened to some speeches I could not help noting that they devoted too much attention to what were wrongly described as conflicting interests—urban and rural; moneylenders and agriculturists; advanced and backward areas; depressed and other classes, etc. This is a wholly erroneous view. The State is not a loose collection of classes whose interests are mutually conflicting. The people constitute an organic unit and the welfare of the whole is bound up with the well-being of every section. We are an organised society and no part of it can advance independently of the rest. The corner-stone of our policy in the State is social justice and this is

emphasised in the message of H. H. the Maharaja.

I thank you again for the helpful suggestions which you have made in the general discussion and assure you that every point whether referred to by the members of the Government in their replies or not, will be carefully examined and will receive the best consideration of the Government.

THE POSITION OF PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES, 19-9-41.

In all Parliamentary Governments there are two kinds of Secretaries—the Parliamentary Secretaries and the Departmental Secretaries. Parliamentary Secretaries are appointed from among the members of the House. Their concern is only with the work to be done in connection with parliamentary business. Parliamentary Secretaries have to work with the Naib Dewans concerned and to assist them in the Dhara Sabha work falling to them. The idea of the motion is that they should work just like departmental secretaries and assist Naib Dewans in administrative work. There is strong objection to this. The Parliamentary Secretaries have nothing to do with the departmental business. Take the case of a Bill to be moved in the Dhara Sabha. The files relating to that Bill are at their disposal and they look into the papers and assist the Naib Dewans in connection with the work in the Dhara Sabha on the Bill. They have nothing to do with the administrative side of the work. In British Indian Provinces there are Parliamentary Secretaries whose only function is to assist in the work connected with the Legislative Assemblies. Even there this distinction has been laid down in the most specific terms. Members who are interested in this subject may read the discussion in Provincial Assemblies on this subject. The Departmental Secretaries have direct contact with the administrative work, and the Parliamentary Secretaries assist in the Dhara Sabha work falling to the

Naib Dewans. Our legislative institution is a new one, and we want to develop it on proper lines; and it is necessary to ensure that there is no confusion in regard to this. By this means, Parliamentary Secretaries know what the policy of the Government is and the reasons of the policy, and they get experience of the work which comes before the Dhara Sabha. This distinction is vital and should be understood from the commencement.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 2-2-42

I welcome you to the second session of the Assembly for the year.

On the 7th December last, Japan entered the war on the side of the Axis powers. This has brought the war yet nearer to our own country. You have, no doubt, read the Prime Minister's recent speech in the House of Commons in which he gave a detailed appraisal of the war situation on all the fronts. The speech has been translated in our weekly bulletin and widely circulated. I shall therefore confine myself to our own war efforts. His Highness the Maharaja has given another donation of £ 50,000 to supplement a similar donation he gave last year. This is intended for completing a squadron of the R. A. F., which will be named after Baroda. The H. M. I. S. "BARODA" has been launched and has now taken its place in India's defence. The Second Infantry returned to Baroda for a short while and will soon proceed for duty outside the State. The State continues to train technicians in the Kalabhavan, and the Railway workshops. The State war gifts fund now exceeds Rs. 2.1 lakhs. This fund recently gave a donation of Rs. 5,000 to the Baroda Red Cross Association to enable it to make arrangements for providing comforts for our troops in the Near East. Investments from the State in the 3 per cent defence loans and in the interest-free defence bonds have amounted to Rs. 80,19,500 and Rs. 25,16,600 respectively, so far as

ascertainable. The war committees are continuing to do good work. Our A. R. P. arrangements are making satisfactory progress and I am glad to say that volunteers are coming forward to take up duties assigned to them. A class has been started for training the personnel and more classes will begin work as soon as the equipment needed for the training is received. Training in first-aid as part of these measures has also commenced. In all these activities, the civic guards and the scouts of the State are rendering useful assistance. The weekly bulletin of the Propaganda Sub-Committee is becoming more and more popular. I should like to take this opportunity of impressing on the people of the State the need for supporting the defence loans much more than they have done in the past. This is the most useful form of assistance in war effort which we can render at the present juncture, apart from the fact that the bonds constitute a safe and remunerative investment.

Members are aware of the relief measures organised to meet the situation caused by excessive floods in Navsari, Baroda and Mehsana districts. Press notes have been issued, detailing these measures. In Amreli and Okhamandal, there was failure of crops owing to shortage of rain and the Government remitted land revenue dues to the extent of Rs. 47,160 in Okhamandal and have also ordered suspensions of current dues and past arrears and of tagavi dues. These suspensions amounted to Rs. 2,73,770 for the Amreli district and Rs. 1,63,046 for Okhamandal. Besides, allotments have been made for additional tagavi loans in both districts and an amount of Rs. 1.30 lakhs has been sanctioned for the supply of fodder in Okhamandal.

Owing to the effects of the war and seasonal conditions, our budgetary anticipations have been somewhat dislocated. The Government have also under consideration the grant of dearness allowance to their subordinate servants and orders on this are expected to issue shortly. A statement will be circulated in due course showing the effect of this and other measures on the sanctioned budget.

Members will remember that in March 1941 the Dhara Sabha passed the Cotton Control Act. This Act was brought into

force in the Navsari district. The growing of 1027 cotton was made compulsory over the whole district and at the beginning of the cultivation season, seeds were supplied to all agriculturists by the department, the Government bearing all overhead and transport charges. 24,73,374 lbs. of seed were thus supplied in the State. Members will agree that Mr. Allan and his officers deserve to be congratulated on the efficient organising of these plans. Coupled with seed supply, plans have been evolved for financing the agriculturist while he is waiting for the crop and for marketing cotton. It may be mentioned that in the 1940-41 season Navsari Cotton bearing the Ag mark fetched a premium of Rs. 13/10 for a khandi. Growers of short staple cotton in Baroda and other districts are experiencing difficulty in finding sale for their cotton. The Baroda Government therefore welcome the measures adopted by the Government of India for the relief of such growers.

The Government of India completed the purchase of the B. B. & C. I. railway system on the first of January and negotiations are in progress between the Government of India and His Highness' Government as regards the working of the Anand-Petlad-Tarapore railway by the Government of India and the working by the G. B. S. Railway of the Broach-Jambusar-Kavi lines.

I have no further prefatory remarks and now invite you to commence the business of the Session.

REMARKS IN CONNECTION WITH THE BILL TO AMEND
THE PENAL CODE FOR PUNISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT
SERVANTS INTERFERING IN ELECTIONS AT THE
DHARA SABHA SESSION, 2-2-42.

"I am afraid the discussion is becoming rather irrelevant. Mr. Motilal Desai has pointed out that Sec. 143 is a general section applying to all including public servants. Why do you want to introduce special legislation? We don't want to multiply offences in the Penal Code. When there is a general provision for an offence, another section in regard to the same offence when committed by a public servant is not necessary. In addition to criminal prosecution, the Government servant, if he interferes with elections, incurs the liability to departmental punishment. The Government can institute departmental investigation, supplementary to prosecution. There is a double remedy where there are specific allegations.

Elections on a large scale are new in the State and we have not yet developed the right spirit in which to contest elections. This requires a good deal of training. As time goes on, we shall gain more experience. Multiplication of offences will not assist in this. It will only lead to harassment. The question should be discussed not from a narrow point of view, but from the point of creating good will. I am keenly interested in the success of elections in the State having been responsible for advising His Highness the Maharaja Saheb to enact the Government of Baroda Act. All elections in the State should be conducted in a spirit which would conduce to the successful working of democratic institutions. If there is a definite allegation against a Government servant, the Government will be bound to institute inquiries. There are thus two remedies open to a candidate, one before the criminal court and the second to ask for a departmental investigation. When that is the case, why do you want to create special offences?

More important than anything else is the building up of good will among different sections of the people and I strongly advise the House that it is inadvisable to create more and more offences. We are not going to do any good or serve any common object by introducing the change."

REMARKS IN CONNECTION WITH RESOLUTION NOS. 23 & 24
REGARDING THE RESTRICTION OF NOT DIVIDING LAND
BELOW THE PRESCRIBED LIMIT, AT THE DHARA
SABHA SESSION, 2-2-42.

I shall explain the general principles underlying the subject under discussion. The object of prescribing a minimum area below which sub-division is not permitted should be clearly understood. It is not to achieve consolidation of holdings. Whether sub-divisions are recognised or not, holdings will in practice go on decreasing by virtue of partition and other causes. The whole question hinges on what is aimed at in the preparation of survey papers. There are two distinct systems. The first is that we want papers only for purposes of collection of revenue, i. e., for enabling revenue officers to make collections. We only want a reasonably efficient system of records to enable us to do this. The present system secures this. There is another system—what is called a system of record of rights—in which revenue records should correspond with the actual ownership of the holdings. We sanction all sub-divisions and see that the records represent ownership accurately. Naturally the more elaborate system of record of rights costs much more.

The question is whether we are prepared to pay this. It is calculated that if we introduce a general system of sub-division according to enjoyment, we shall have to incur twice the expenditure we have already incurred. Every year then there will be the recurring expenditure. The question is whether the additional cost would be worth while. The revenue records get out of date as more and more partitions take place. We have to make up our mind what we are aiming at, and whether the community should be put to this additional cost.

An agriculturist may apply to have his land sub-divided according to enjoyment in which case a correct survey will be made and the map etc. of the sub-divided holding furnished to him at his own cost.

AT THE OPENING OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 13-4-42.

I welcome you to the third session of the Assembly for the year.

I should like at the outset to state that His Highness' Government gave their wholehearted support to the British War Cabinet's proposals for the "creation of a new Indian union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect." They also accorded a sincere welcome to Sir Stafford Cripps and wished him success in a mission fraught with momentous issues to the country and to the future world order. They had hoped that leaders of Indian opinion would accept the proposals and that it would be possible to take steps for setting up a National Government at the centre and similar governments in the provinces, so that a united India might make an even more notable contribution than in the past to the victory against the aggressors. This however, has not been found possible. I feel nothing more can be profitably said on the subject at the present time. I would permit myself only one remark. Sir Stafford Cripps has earned the undying gratitude and admiration of India for his great courage in undertaking the mission and for the unfailing patience and sympathetic insight and vision with which he conducted the negotiations.

The war has now come to India. There have been air raids in Colombo and on the East Coast in Vizagapatam and Cocanada. While there is no use in minimising the danger that lies ahead, there can be no doubt whatever of the final result. It is certain that victory will come. The Allies—Russia, the United States, China, and the British Commonwealth in which I include India—have resources which the Axis powers can never defeat. In this certainty, each one of us should make his own contribution and do his best to assist in the victory. We should root out defeatism and stop alarmist rumours and prevent their spread and let people know the correct facts. We should also see that there is no panic and that all situations that arise are met with courage. In other words, everything possible should be done to help and maintain public morale. As General Wavell said a few days ago, "There are three principal factors in the

defence of a country's towns and cities against air attack, first guns and aeroplanes, secondly A. R. P. arrangements and thirdly the spirit and morale of the people: of the three the last is most important." Members will also recall what Madame Chiang Kai-Shek said of the spirit of the people in China. "When at last we know the ruthlessness of the enemy" she said, "we had to take up arms, ill-prepared as we were, for we realised that, however terrible suffering and death may be, there was a worse thing—slavery of the body, slavery of the soul." For this essential task of sustaining public morale, the Government think it necessary to constitute a "national war front" organisation, working in close liaison with similar bodies in adjoining areas. Details are being worked out by the Director of Information and the support of enlightened ladies and gentlemen all over the State will be sought to make it a success. I am confident that this support will be given fully and freely.

I now come to our own war efforts. The Second Infantry has proceeded for duty outside the State. The State war gifts fund stands at Rs. 2.18 lakhs. Investments in the 3 p. c. defence loans and in the interest free defence bonds have amounted to Rs. 80,22,500 and Rs. 25,16,600 respectively. For the "China Day" fund, His Highness the Maharaja gave a contribution of Rs. 10,000 and the people of the State of Rs. 7,764. The A. R. P. measures are making progress and more training classes have been started and I should like here to appeal to every one who is in a position to do so to help the community by enrolling himself or herself in one of the various services in this organisation. The civic guards in the State are performing most useful duties. May I also repeat what I said at the last meeting about the need for the people of the State supporting the defence loans more than they have done in the past?

Anxiety has been naturally expressed in regard to internal security in these difficult times. Members may feel assured that the Government have organised and are organising special measures in this behalf. The police force is being strengthened in areas in which this is needed; more outposts are being opened and new parties of mounted police are being entertained. His Highness' Government will

keep themselves in close and constant touch with the districts and develop their plans as and when necessary. The Government are grateful to the members of the public who are doing so much to assist by taking up the duties of watch and ward in towns and villages.

The position in regard to food grains in the State is under continuous examination and necessary steps are being taken to see that stocks are maintained which would be adequate for the needs of the people. The Baroda Government appreciate the assistance they are receiving from other Governments in this matter. His Highness' Government are shortly launching a campaign for growing more food crops in the State. The detailed measures will be published soon and I request you, and through you, enlightened gentlemen in all parts of the State, to lend us their assistance in the propaganda. Prant Panchayats and development associations can also be of the utmost help to the Government in their plans.

In the last session, the Dhara Sabha passed a Bill for making monogamy part of the Hindu Law of the State. His Highness the Maharaja has now given his assent to this measure. This reform is one of far-reaching importance and is the logical outcome of the social legislation which the State has passed in the last few years. His Highness' Government believe, with the Hindu Law Committee appointed by the Government of India that, in social matters, the statute-book should reflect as far as possible the highest ideals of the race. I congratulate the Dhara Sabha on giving its unanimous support to this law.

I now invite you to commence the business of the session.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AT THE END OF THE DHARA SABHA SESSION, 17-4-42.

I had not intended to say anything on the constitutional question that was raised in the paper that was read out to the House yesterday. But, as a member has now asked that I should make a statement, it becomes my duty to say a few words.

I was invited by some members to give a ruling to the following effect in regard to a resolution on a matter of general public interest moved in the Dhara Sabha:—that, when a resolution of the Dhara Sabha is accepted by the Government and given effect to, it is a constitutional practice that the Government should not change their order giving effect to the resolution, unless there is risk of a breakdown of the constitution or the interests of the State are at stake. I could not give such a ruling and explained to the House my reasons.

I stated the constitutional position in regard to such resolutions in democratic assemblies. I mentioned the House of Commons. It is a well established principle that resolutions on matters of general public interest moved in the House are *not* binding on Government. If members will read Rule 36 of the Resolution Rules, they will find this principle set out quite clearly. That rule says that copies of resolutions passed by the Dhara Sabha will be sent to the Government and that they—the resolutions—are in the nature of recommendations to Government. I invite reference to the word “recommendations”. It is open to the Government to accept them or not. This is the constitutional position. It is my duty as President of the Dhara Sabha to point out the correct position and I have done so. My ruling does not involve any diminution of the powers of the House. There is no such “constitutional practice” established anywhere in the most advanced democratic constitutions. Why this is so, will be clear from my remarks that follow.

I will first say a few words on the particular resolution which has led to the discussion. That resolution recommended the transfer to judicial authorities of criminal jurisdiction exercised by revenue magistrates in certain outlying areas of the State. When it was

discussed, some members opposed it. The Government themselves expressed their doubts regarding the feasibility of the proposal. But, having regard to opinions expressed by a majority of the members, the Government proposed to introduce the change recommended in the resolution in selected areas. They issued orders accordingly. As soon as these were published, however, Government began to receive numerous complaints from the people affected and deputations came to re-inforce these objections. I personally heard one of them. The complaint urged was that under the orders issued numbers of people charged with minor offences, under the Motor Vehicles Act, Marriage Act, Town Nuisances Act etc., for which they would be fined in small sums, would have to go long distances to take their trial and that this would involve them in much expenditure and other hardships. The Law Member toured in the Mehsana district and he also received many representations to the same effect. I confess that Government did not realise, when orders were issued in the first instance, that such large numbers of persons would be affected. The Government found that these objections were well-founded and that hardships would be caused on a large scale. It was, therefore, their duty to rescind their orders. Even in ordinary times, the Government have no right to subject poor people to such hardships; much greater is their obligation in these difficult days. For cancelling the arrangement introduced by them, the Council collectively and individual members of it accept full responsibility. They do not seek to share this with the Dhara Sabha or any other authority.

Having dealt with this particular question, I should like to draw the attention of the House to general aspects. According to the Dhara Sabha Rules resolutions should relate to matters of general public interest—matters not merely of public interest—but *general* public interest. I stress the word 'general'. I have not enforced this strictly as members appreciate the opportunity of bringing before the House local needs and complaints and points connected with the detailed working of departmental and administrative rules as these concern the well being of the people. At the present sitting, we have had many resolutions regarding administrative details which cannot be said to possess general public interest: but we want to be in a position to

know local grievances and take action to redress them. Suppose we lay down a principle that resolutions accepted on the floor of the Dhara Sabha and acted upon by Government cannot be changed unless there is risk of a breakdown or of injury to the State. What will be the result? We shall have two sets of orders on administrative matters—one issued by the Government on the initiative of the Dhara Sabha which cannot be changed except under very special circumstances, and another issued by the Government on their own initiative which can be changed. Is this a practical proposition? We cannot divide administration into two parts. There is a principle of government which is of paramount importance—that there should be no confusion of responsibility: responsibility should be undivided and lie with one authority. It must rest with the Government, whatever its nature may be. Any other principle will jeopardise the public interests. Justifiable hardships caused by administrative orders must be removed and removed with the utmost promptitude. Further, suppose such a principle is laid down. What will be the attitude of Government when resolutions are discussed in the Dhara Sabha? They will have to refuse to commit themselves. They will have to adopt a non-committal attitude—‘promise to consider’ and so on. And, after a resolution is passed, they will have to take steps to initiate consultations to find out how far they will be acceptable. Such a result cannot be intended by members. There must be continuous adjustment in Government. We try a rule: if it works badly we change it. This elasticity is essential.

Let me sum up what I have said. The position in regard to such resolutions is clear and the proposition for which support is asked for, is contrary, not only to the Government of Baroda Act, but also to the principle of all democratic constitutions. No such practice is established anywhere. Furthermore, it is based on a conception of the relationship of Legislative assemblies to the administration which is not fundamentally sound. If accepted, it will lead to division of responsibility with results fatal to good government. No such proposal about resolutions has been recognised in any constitution in India or elsewhere.

I should like to add a few general remarks, not as President of

the Assembly or head of the administration under His Highness the Maharaja, but as one who is interested in the working of democratic institutions in India. One of the obstacles to the success of such institutions is the 'mental distance' between the educated people and the millions who are not educated. We, educated men, believe in certain principles—separation of executive and judicial functions, measures of social reform etc. We must beware of forcing these principles to a point at which they cause hardship or become oppressive. If we do this, we shall never get the principles accepted by the people. Instead of serving the cause of these principles we shall do disservice to them. I can give illustrations of this from what has happened in recent years in India but do not wish to take up more of your time in doing so.

I have always said that in the working of the Dhara Sabha my services are at the disposal of the members individually and collectively. Members know this. It is my constant endeavour to uphold the powers and privileges of the Dhara Sabha. If there is any doubt about rulings in the Dhara Sabha or any other business coming before it, it is open to members to come and discuss them with me. They often have done so and are doing so. Our administration is conducted in public. The successful working of the constitution and the establishment of sound conventions at the initial stages are tasks which are by no means easy and they call for tolerance and the spirit of give and take and mutual understanding and the adaptation of principles and policies to existing conditions.

AT THE BUDGET SESSION OF THE DHARA SABHA, 13-7-42

I invite you to the budget session of the Dhara Sabha.

Detailed statements of receipts and expenditure have already been circulated to you, with explanatory memoranda: and, in the remarks that follow, I shall only refer to the salient features of the economic and budgetary position. Both are naturally dominated by the war.

The remarks that follow will fall under three heads:—First, I shall indicate, in a general way, how the war has affected the economic life of the people. Secondly, I shall deal with the revised estimates for 1941-42 and the budget for 1942-43. Lastly, I shall touch on general questions of interest arising out of the war and the war activities in the State.

It will be useful to examine how the war has affected agriculturists in the State. Farming can be classed as “self-sufficing” and “commercial”. The former predominates in India, though in Baroda State, commercialization is of a fairly advanced type. We are, in fact, one of the least self-sufficing areas of India as can be seen from the large tonnage of food grains we import even when monsoon conditions are completely normal. The self-sufficing farmer providing what he requires and as a rule disposing of his small surpluses, usually a mixed collection of grains for which demand is definite, is in an advantageous position. In the case of the commercial farmer specializing in a certain commodity, it may happen that this industrial commodity is not in active demand. He may, therefore, have a temporary set-back, especially as the prices of articles which he has to purchase, depending on the intensity of his specialization, are likely to have risen; but causes other than war have produced the same results. Recovery in his case largely depends on his ability to switch over to an alternative form of cropping. In our State, commercial crops are cotton, tobacco, oil seeds (groundnut and castor) and possibly sugarcane. The alternative crop or crops now in active demand are the food grains.

Cotton :—In the Navsari district the growing of 1027 A. L. F. has proved distinctly advantageous to agriculturists when compared with the position immediately before the war. The demand for staple cotton has increased as indicated by the premiums of Rs. 80 to Rs. 120 secured over Broach: this may be compared with Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 prior to the war. The records of our marketing office illustrate the position :—

Year			Prices
1938	...	...	Rs. 190 to Rs. 210 per Khandi
1939	...	...	Rs. 185 to Rs. 200 ,,
1940	...	...	Rs. 290 to Rs. 310 ,,
1941	...	...	Rs. 330 to Rs. 340 ,,
1942	...	...	Rs. 295 to Rs. 340 ,,

In the Baroda district we grow for the most part a border line cotton i. e. cotton below $\frac{3}{4}$ inch staple. The average price of Broach cotton is shown below :—

Year			Average price
1938	...	...	Rs. 150 per Khandi
1939	...	...	Rs. 150 ,,
1940	...	...	Rs. 260 ,,
1941	...	...	Rs. 235 ,,
1942	...	...	Rs. 190 ,,

The figure in 1942 is possibly slightly below the previous year's, but it is certainly better than in 1938 or 1939. Against this, however, it must be remembered that the prices of a number of commodities which the agriculturist is compelled to purchase have risen. It is certain that if the area under Broach cotton is maintained at its present level there will be a fall in the prices obtainable in 1943. This is partly the influence of the war and partly the result of a steady movement towards better staple for Indian consumption; this latter factor has been accelerated by the war. It is necessary therefore that cotton in the Baroda district should be reduced in favour of food grains. The district engages in a special type of farming practice

under which paddy is sown as an interline crop with cotton. It is not good paddy, but rice of any kind in India is scarce and a greater recourse to this practice by the cotton farmer will certainly improve his net income. In this area the Agricultural department has been concentrating for the last 3 or 4 years on the extension of two types viz. B. D. 8 and B. 9. The growers of the former of these have benefited to a marked degree, as the premium on this cotton has stood at Rs. 110 and more over Broach and the grower has received from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 more on each cartload of Kapas. These growers have certainly not suffered from the war as prior to this the premiums were from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 and as the lint yield per bigha was less, the margin of profit over ordinary Broach was at times questionable. During the coming year, the seed organization will be able to provide pure seed of better staple cottons so as to cover possibly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the normal cotton area and as the 'grow-more-food' campaign is active possibly as much as $\frac{1}{3}$ of the 1942-43 area, leaving only about half of the original Broach as compared with the present year.

In the Mehsana district 75% of the area is usually under Wagad cotton and an increasing amount of this is under an improved strain-Wagad 8. This cotton fetches premium from Rs. 15 to Rs. 22 per Khandi on Broach. It is in active demand in the Ahmedabad mills and this demand is not likely to decline in view of the difficulty of importing cotton from a distance. The balance of the area of this district is under open boll cottons—degenerate Broach cotton—for which the market even in 1942 was sluggish. This class of cotton will have to give way to food grains and this movement is being actively encouraged. In Amreli, except for Kodinar, we are definitely in a short staple tract. In the present year the crop was not big and I understand that the majority of it was sold before the serious slump in short staple set in. There are, as in other areas, prospects of fair profits from bajra and juwar.

On the whole, except for Mathio (Amreli) and Lalio (Mehsana), the cotton grower of the State is in a better position now than before. Growers of 1027 A. L. F., B. D. 8, B. 9 and Wagad are in a relatively strong position, while in the case of those growing Broach the return

is likely to be governed by the amount of reduction in the crop. All areas have effective alternatives in the form of grain and pulses and special inducements are being offered to agriculturists to make this turnover.

Tobacco :—Country tobacco is the specialized money crop of Petlad-Bhadran area. This crop has been hit by the war. It is understood that stocks of the season's production lie unsold. The area is suited to bajra and in the cold season wheat, onions and chillies and other market garden crops under irrigation, while wells are plentiful and the water supply effective. A switch over from tobacco is therefore necessary. The growers appreciate the position and the State is doing all it can to encourage this.

Oil-seeds :—Groundnut and castor : The prices secured by the cultivator per maund of these over the last six years as recorded by the marketing office on enquiry are as below :—

	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Groundnut ..	1-6-0	1- 8-0	1-6-0	1-14-0	1-6-0	2-0-0
Castor ..	2-0-0	1-12-0	4-0-0	2- 4-0	2-8-0	3-0-0

These figures do not indicate any setback. The probability is that prices will continue to rise and that, as the cost of production is not much affected, the net profit will be fully maintained.

The sugarcane crop, sugar and gul :—The price of gul approximates to the prices ruling for sugar. The prices for this latter commodity averaged over the four districts of the State at Rs. 9-4-0 per Bengal maund in 1938. At present it averages Rs. 15-5-0, an increase of 65%. The price which the sugar factory at Gandevi could offer for cane in 1938 was barely Re. 0-4-9 per maund of cane. In 1942 it was able to pay Re. 0-7-3. The advance in the average

price of gul may not have been so high, as in 1938 it stood in a better position than sugar but for all that it is in evidence. Had it not been for the floods of July 1941, the financial position of the Gandevi grower, with possibly 1½ lakhs more cane to sell, would have been good. There is no prospect of a decline in sugar prices for years to come and sugarcane prices will be maintained at a good level, after allowing for increased cost of cultivation.

Cereals :—The shortage of these is well-known. It is reflected in the prices, even if in part controlled.

Average prices over 4 districts per Bengal maund

	1938	1942	Increase
Rice	Rs. 5- 9-0	Rs. 9- 4-0	52%
Wheat	„ 4- 7-0	„ 8- 1-0	81%
Juar	„ 3- 4-0	„ 4- 7-0	37%
Bajra	„ 4- 0-0	„ 4-15-0	37%
Gram	„ 3-15-0	„ 6- 8-0	71%
Tur (Dal)	„ 6- 8-0	„ 10-11-0	64%

The differences are at times greater when examined by districts, for example, in Baroda district the rise in bajra is 45%. These figures show the value of a change-over of the less wanted types of non-food crops to food crops.

A close survey has been made of the increase in the expenditure incurred by the agriculturist which operates as a set-off against increased prices received by him and the general result is to show a net relative advantage. The exception is in regard to short staple cotton and tobacco and inducements have been offered to growers of these to switch over to food crops. It is probable that oil shortage

will affect tracts which depend on oil engines for irrigation. The possibility of controlling crude oil and lubricating oil so as to ensure a supply of these for growing food grains is being examined.

If any members desire further information on this important subject, I shall be glad to arrange a meeting between them and the Director of Agriculture.

I now come to industries in the State.

The textile industry is the most important among the major industries. Its growth in recent years is seen from the following figures :—

Year	Capital employed (approximate)	Looms	Spindles	Persons employed
1927-28	12,325,068	2,505	177,084	6,250
1936-37	29,081,435	6,206	297,704	15,298
1940-41	38,424,610	6,874	325,732	22,726

The industry has benefited by the war, even though there has been an appreciable rise in the prices of fuel, textile accessories, textile chemicals and wages. All the mills are engaged on government orders. In 1941-42, about 25 per cent of the production was earmarked for Government orders. For 1942-43 the proportion is fixed at 35 per cent. The mills have agreed besides to produce 'standard cloth' which will represent 15 per cent production: the details of this scheme are being worked out by the Government of India. The Dinesh mills, the only woollen mill in the State, is engaged entirely on government contracts. The cement factory at Dwarka has expanded its production from 80,000 tons in 1938 to 200,000 tons in 1942. The sugar factory at Gandevi is also doing well. The Tata chemicals have surmounted most of their difficulties in obtaining machinery and expect to commence production in the next few months. The Alembic chemical works are doing well, and have started several new lines.

The Hindustan colour manufacturing company has commenced manufacture of starches. Sulphuric acid and nitric acid plants are working in Baroda and Petlad. Factories have been established for the manufacture of reeds for the textile industries, webbings and heavy tapes, bobbins. A non-ferrous metal rolling mill has also been established.

The relations between employers and labour have been on the whole harmonious. By mutual adjustment and arbitration, wages have been raised in all factories. There has also been increased employment: the number of operatives in factories rose from 37,143 in 1939-40 to 41,104 in 1940-41.

Cottage industries have always occupied a minor position in the State. Their condition has not improved on account of the war. On the other hand there has been a setback owing to the difficulty of getting artificial silk, dyes etc. The Director of Industries is in correspondence with the Government of India department concerned to see how small scale industries in the State can obtain war orders.

It is well-known that war affects injuriously men with small fixed incomes—subordinate Government servants, clerks in private offices etc.—those who are commonly said to belong to the "lower middle class." The Government and private employers have given scarcity allowances to relieve distress among them. On the other hand, the war has thrown open increased opportunities of employment for them.

At the last budget session, I explained the special measures adopted in 1938-39—the constitution of the State reserve fund and the land revenue equalization fund—to meet the position created by the remissions and concessions granted in the year to the extent of Rs. 26.69 lakhs. I pointed out how, in the three years following this, the policy then laid down has worked out satisfactorily in spite of the dislocation caused by the war in two of them. The Accountant General's memorandum shows that the scheme has worked well in 1941-42 also. The revised estimates are before you and I have no special comments on them.

I now come to the estimates for 1942-43. These show receipts of Rs. 272.48 lakhs and Rs. 272.13 lakhs on the expenditure side.

As regards receipts, I would like to mention three points. (i) A slight change has been made in the method of showing land revenue receipts. The receipts are estimated to be 102.90 lakhs, out of which 7.83 lakhs will go to the credit of the land revenue equalization fund. At the end of year, this fund will stand at 69.22 lakhs, a gain of 19.22 lakhs in four years. The object of this change is to show clearly from year to year how the equalization fund stands. (ii) In regard to commercial departments, we have followed the usual practice of exhibiting only the net revenue under "receipts". The chief among the commercial concerns are the Railways in which government have invested Rs. 554 lakhs. The net income is estimated at Rs. 23 lakhs as railway rates have been further revised from 1-5-1942. The railway depreciation fund has a balance of Rs. 31.55 lakhs and the railway reserve fund of Rs. 28.10 lakhs. The Electric department is expected to yield a net income of Rs. 2½ lakhs; the Port Rs. 1. 60 lakhs and Irrigation of 0.06 lakhs. The members will note that our receipts from irrigation are trifling when compared with the capital invested; but the indirect advantages of storage reservoirs in a State like ours are considerable. (iii) The receipts under "interest" are estimated at Rs. 21.59 lakhs. As I have explained before, the Government's policy is to invest the State reserves in remunerative schemes of development so that the State may derive the same income as it does at present. As our territories are scattered, such schemes take time to mature. Immediately after the war, the Baroda electrical scheme will be taken up. Then there is the Vijapur electric scheme. The Zankhni project is awaiting report by an expert geologist who will commence work in November 1942. The Sabarmati project is under correspondence with the Government of Bombay.

Coming to the expenditure side, I have the following comments. (i) Under the Government of Baroda Act, the normal expenditure for the Army including pensions and gratuities, has been fixed at Rs. 22½ lakhs a year. In 1942-43, however, owing to the war this expenditure will be exceeded, necessitating a general contribution from the

revenues. A sum of Rs. 10.45 lakhs appears under the head "Miscellaneous" which includes all expenditure connected with the war. A fixed civil list has been the normal feature in the State for many years and on this no comments are necessary. (ii) The policy of His Highness' Government is to make increased allotments for nation building departments, maintaining at the same time a close control over expenditure in other departments and effecting all economies possible in the latter. There is an annual scrutiny with a view to retrenchment in these latter departments. Members will easily understand however that, owing to the special conditions created by the war, no reduction is possible. I need not dilate on the varied problems of a complicated nature the State is facing at the present juncture. Under Education, we have provided Rs. 40.05 lakhs as against Rs. 39.20 lakhs in the revised estimates. This includes additional provision for scholarships, grants to institutions and a special provision of Rs. 0.41 lakhs for the Commerce College. Schemes for the development of the Technological Institute are under examination. A sum of Rs. 8.29 lakhs has been provided for Agriculture as against Rs. 7.69 lakhs in the revised estimates. The activities of the department are described in the Administration report. Every effort is made to bring home to agriculturists the improvements tried out and found advantageous in the farms opened in different areas of the State. Among the new activities are the extension of the Rabari settlements, scheme for B. G. 9 cotton, seed depots, experiments and demonstrations on Virginia tobacco and grass improvement schemes. Special mention may be made also of plans for soil conservation which are prominently described in the Administration report. The Co-operative department continues to work on sound lines. The reconstruction of societies is proving successful and cotton sale societies and land mortgage banks are also working well. The special programme for improving the north Mehsana district is being steadily pursued. The Medical and Sanitary departments have been allotted Rs. 9.95 lakhs. The revised estimate of last year (Rs. 10.16 lakhs) included a special item of Rs. 0.65 lakhs for capital expenditure on the T. B. hospital. Anti-malarial and rural sanitation schemes are continued. Increased provision has been made for subsidies to local boards and municipalities,

including grants for water works in villages.

One special point I would like to mention. Though there has been increase in the revenues in recent years the burden of taxation has been appreciably reduced. Members occasionally refer to *per capita* taxation in their speeches. Mr. Bhate will be glad to meet gentlemen who are interested in this subject and explain the detailed figures which show that the burden of taxation has been steadily falling in the last quinquennium.

An important part is played by the three memorial Trusts, the Diamond Jubilee Trust, the People's Diamond Jubilee Trust and the Sayaji Rao Memorial Trust, in the reconstruction activities in the State. The works under the Diamond Jubilee Trust are in progress. The village works absorb Rs. 2.50 lakhs and the special works sanctioned for the backward classes and areas etc. absorb a lakh of rupees—Rs. 3.50 lakhs a year in the aggregate. The income from the People's Diamond Jubilee Trust is utilised for giving scholarships to agriculturists for training in agricultural institutes, the cottage industries institute etc. The fund has recently given aid to a scheme for training girls from villages in reconstruction activities. The utilization of the Sayaji Rao Memorial Trust awaits the cessation of hostilities. No further grants were sanctioned from the Trust in the current year.

The Shri Maharani Shantadevi Trust has a programme for 18 maternity institutions on hand ; 7 have been established and, in regard to others, progress is being made to the extent possible under the present conditions. The Baroda Anti-Tuberculosis Association has received generous support from the public. The T. B. Sanatorium is nearing completion. Difficulties are however experienced in getting equipment.

Summing up the financial position of the State, it may be regarded as satisfactory. We are working however right up to the limit of our resources. The war has affected certain sources of revenue, as for example customs ; it has resulted in increase in other heads like income-tax, railways etc.

Members will like to know how problems connected with the control of prices and the supply of food grains are being dealt with on a co-ordinated basis between Baroda and the adjacent States and Provinces. Quite early after the beginning of the war, price control was established in the State; prices were fixed for the principal food grains; and a control organisation was developed throughout the State with the Sar Suba as the Chief Price Controller and the Director of Commerce as Joint Controller and Director of Civil Supplies. Consultative Committees were formed in the talukas with a Central Committee in Baroda. Stocks with merchants were scrutinized every fortnight since February 1942; permits were issued for imports of food grains into areas where they were deficient; and reserves were gradually built up in the different districts. It was soon realised that such matters should be dealt with on a regional basis, if useful results were to be achieved. At the fourth Price Control Conference at Delhi, the idea of regional boards for price control and supply found general acceptance, and a regional board for Western India has been working since April last. The first formal meeting was held on 25th May last to which the representatives of Bombay, Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore, Central Provinces, Western India States and Gujarat States were invited. Baroda co-operated with this organisation from its very inception, and has its representative on the Transport Advisory Board as well. On the regional board, uniform lines of policy are developed, common problems are discussed, and the needs of the different provinces and States are adjusted. Transport facilities are made available through the Transport Advisory Board. It has been possible to fix bulk quotas for the different units in the principal commodities. Arrangements have been and are being made to obtain adequate supplies of wheat, rice, sugar etc.

It was necessary side by side with the organisation of supplies from outside, to start a food drive campaign within the State. A careful survey was made at first of the limits within which the shift over from commercial crops like short and fair staple cotton and tobacco to food crops like rice, juwar and wheat was possible having regard to local conditions. It has been calculated that it will be possible to grow food crops on about 1,31,000 acres which are now given over to

cotton of inferior varieties. A proportion of areas now growing only tobacco will also have to go over to juwar and wheat. In addition, on certain areas now exclusively growing cotton, juwar and rice may be grown side by side with cotton. Encouragements in the shape of free tagavi for seeds and manure, in addition to the usual concessions, have been sanctioned by Government; and a special remission of 4 annas in the rupee where cotton growing holdings are changed over to food crops has been sanctioned which would mean a relief to the extent of nearly Rs. 1,50,000 of revenue. This remission is to be met from a grant made by the Government of India from the fund specially created by them. At present the proportion of food crops is over 61% of the total cropped area; by means of the food drive campaign we have now initiated, the proportion it is hoped will rise appreciably, given normal monsoon conditions.

The Government have sanctioned an important scheme for additional protection and internal security in the State. Besides strengthening the existing police thanas and chokis, it is proposed to open about 75 new chokis throughout the State, and provision has been made for mounted swars. The Government are glad that, all over the State in towns and villages, people have formed themselves into committees for protection and co-operate wholeheartedly with the police force. I take this opportunity of conveying the thanks of Government to those who have assisted in bringing about this organization.

The war has now entered on a most important phase and we are following, with admiration, the grim resistance offered by the Allied forces in Egypt, Russia and China. I shall only repeat here what I have often said—it is certain victory will come; the Allied Powers have resources which the Axis Powers can never defeat.

I now come to our war efforts. The Second Infantry has proceeded on duty outside the State. The training of technicians continues in Kalabhavan and Railway workshops. The State War Gifts Fund stands at over Rs. 2.20 lakhs. Investment in 3% loan and interest—free bonds have amounted to Rs. 80,22,500 & Rs. 25,16,600

respectively. The A. R. P. measures are making good progress. More training centres have been started and the response from the public has been encouraging. Members will recollect that, at the last meeting, I spoke on the organisation of the National War Front. This movement has now been inaugurated. The object is to sustain public morale, to root out defeatism and stop alarmist rumours and their spread by circulating correct facts about the war widely among the people. We should also see that there is no panic and that all situations that may arise are met with courage. The Government are gratified that the movement is receiving wide support and they hope that it will spread to the remotest villages. I have already referred in the speech to the spirit in which all over the State in towns and villages people have formed themselves into bands for helping the police. This is an essential part of the National War Front. It is proposed to add a National War Front supplement to the weekly bulletin issued by the Publicity department which circulates so widely in the State. May I make an appeal in this connection that all of us in the State should support the defence loans even more than we have done in the past ?

I now invite you to commence the business of the session.

AT THE CLOSE OF THE BUDGET SESSION OF THE DHARA SABHA, 18-7-42.

We have had a most useful discussion extending over six days on subjects connected with the budget: and I owe it to the House to say a few words on the more important matters that arose in the discussion. I take this opportunity to congratulate the members on the moderation which characterised the speeches generally. As I said last year, it is not easy to say much that is new on the State budget. It is inevitable that there should be a certain amount of repetition of what was said last year: this, however, has not detracted from the quality of the debate.

The budget has been received favourably. Some members were however inclined to take a pessimistic view—gloom unrelieved by any ray of hope. I should like here to emphasise the more important features of our financial and budgetary position. Firstly, as the result of a wise policy pursued by a great Ruler over a long period, the State finds itself in the position of having an amount representing about $4\frac{1}{2}$ years' annual revenue as a reserve invested in remunerative assets. Out of about Rs. 11 crores about Rs. 6 crores are invested in our railway system and about a crore of rupees in other paying assets. We have also amounts invested in easily realisable securities to the extent of Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores by which we can finance such schemes of improvement as are found useful to the State. This is the result of an enlightened policy pursued continuously by His Highness the late Maharaja and followed by His Highness the present Maharaja. Secondly, in the last few years we have made every effort to relieve the burden of taxation on the people. This again is rare among Governments in the last few years. Faced with the war and difficult conditions created by it, new taxation has had to be imposed by many Governments. In our State, however, taxation has actually been reduced. Thirdly, the relief I have mentioned above has been given side by side with steadily increasing allotments to nation-building departments. The figures are shown in the budgets and in my opening speech and I shall not repeat them. Lastly, in 1936 and 1939, His Highness the late Maharaja and His Highness the present

Maharaja have jointly made endowments for the benefit of the people of the State nearly equal to one year's revenue. I venture to say that this is unique,—without a parallel elsewhere. A member wished to know what we had done and what we proposed to do with the income from the endowments. Members know the schemes financed from the income of the Diamond Jubilee Trust Fund. These are mentioned in the Administration Report. As regards Shree Sayajirao III Memorial Fund we have not framed any scheme as yet because His Highness the Maharaja has in mind important schemes which are likely to involve large sums of money in recurring and non-recurring expenditure to be taken up after the war. Provisionally, the intention is to start an Engineering College with courses in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and also a B. Sc. (Tech.) course in Weaving Technology. Whether this will have to be changed owing to conditions after the war, I cannot say. Meanwhile the interest from the Fund is being invested, in order to provide the capital and other outlay involved.

We have thus every reason to be gratified with—every ground for congratulating ourselves on—our strong financial position. There is a yet more important point. We have, under the aegis of our late Ruler and the present Ruler established a tradition of 'rule of law' and of ordered progress which is attracting industries to the State and thus adding to its prosperity.

Much has been said on the needs of villages. Members have spoken of these and proposed larger grants. The Government are in entire sympathy with these proposals and will allot all funds needed for such schemes. With regard to village roads, we may supplement the efforts of prant panchayats by opening a special subdivision in a few talukas for expediting preparation of schemes and construction. Mention was made of agricultural indebtedness. As I have repeatedly said, the main problem is the volume of unproductive debt. Productive debt is a sign of strength. The weakness of the agriculturists is due to the fact that most of the debt is unproductive. The best policy is to concentrate on increasing the productive capacity of the agriculturist so that there may be a margin left for him out of his

income. We must instil into the agriculturist an ambition for a higher standard of living. This needs bands of workers full of the spirit of social service. We have adopted a policy of giving liberal grants for establishing land mortgage banks. We welcome the formation of more and more land mortgage banks and we hope that soon the whole area of the State will be covered by such banks. For the working of these banks, numbers of enlightened gentlemen should be prepared to devote a definite portion of their time. I trust that such willing service will be forthcoming in every part of the State.

I shall now deal with questions relating to the working of the constitution under the Government of Baroda Act. From the inauguration of the new Act, the Government laid it down as their policy that, except in cases of emergency, all legislative proposals shall be placed before the Dhara Sabha. That policy holds good and will continue to be followed. There is also another point which I should like to emphasise. The last two years have been full of legislative activity. We have had many Bills passed in the Dhara Sabha: and His Highness the Maharaja has given his assent to every measure in the form in which it emerged from the Dhara Sabha. This is a fact of which the Dhara Sabha has reason to be proud: it is a tribute to the spirit in which the Dhara Sabha approaches the consideration of Bills. It is also evidence, if evidence be needed, of the attitude of His Highness the Maharaja and of his Government towards the reforms which His Highness has promulgated. We had some discussions about 'resolutions'. A member referred to the statement made by me at the last meeting as regards their effect. I said that, in all democratic constitutions, resolutions were in the nature of recommendations, and were not binding on the Government. I gave reasons for this and emphasised that there should be no blurring of responsibility. He said that this was negating all idea of 'responsible government'. I must confess I do not follow this argument. An instance was given of a resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1893 recommending simultaneous examinations for the I. C. S. in England and India. That resolution was not acted upon. Does it follow from this that there is no 'responsible government' in England? I would recommend members to study carefully the relations between the Legislative

Assembly and the Administration in democratic constitutions. Much of the success of democratic institutions depends on the proper adjustment of these relations and the evolution of proper conventions in this respect. By 'Administration' I mean first the Executive Council or Cabinet and secondly the Civil Service. This is a study which will be found most useful in working our constitution.

Reference was made in the speeches of members to our objective—to the ultimate aim of the constitution promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja, its final issue. On this subject I speak with much hesitation. At present all accepted ideas and policies are in the melting-pot. The whole world is changing and we do not know how institutions and ideals will be reshaped after the war. But one thing is certain. The future will be with democracies. The democratic form of government will survive. In what form we cannot say: that will be for the future to decide. Democracy is a spirit and a way of life and we should all aim at cultivating and developing this spirit. I happen to have studied constitutions for many years: and accidents of official life have given me opportunities for studying, from a rather detached point of view, the working of democratic institutions elsewhere in India. From this experience, may I say what in my view is fundamental for the successful working of democratic institutions? There is nothing new in what I say: but there is an advantage in restating familiar truths. I would emphasise three points.

In the first place, all aspects of the life of a people are interlinked. They cannot be separated. We cannot separate the social, economic and political aspects of a people's life. There should be harmonious development of all these sides. We cannot have a modern constitution with social ideas which go back to the middle ages. Take one evil—what is called 'untouchability'. The member who represents the "depressed" classes—a term which should be abolished—drew attention to the fact that the most elementary rights are not conceded to members of these classes. This is repugnant to the basic idea of democracy. In the same way, extreme poverty such as we have in the countryside is an insecure foundation for modern democratic institutions. The second point I want to stress is, in the words of the

Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja, the identity of interests between the Ruler and the people of the State and among all sections of the population. This principle is described in different forms by constitutional writers. For example it is put sometimes in this form—for the success of *democracy, agreement among all sections of the people* on the fundamentals of national life is essential. In the discussions, mention was made of rural interests and urban interests, of the interests of different sections of people or communities and different parts of the State and so on. This is not a wholly correct conception. All parts of the State and all sections are interlinked and there is no such divergence or conflict. We also heard of ‘minorities’. This is a word I dislike. In England for example, we have the ‘Government’ and the ‘Opposition’. Now, the place of the Opposition there is seen from the fact that a salary is attached to the position of Leader of the Opposition. This brings out the point I want to make. Democracy is not government by majority votes. It is government by mutual adjustment, compromise, tolerance and understanding. We should be prepared to accept the second best by agreement rather than the best by majority votes. It is the spirit that matters. The third point is this. Democracy has many forms and each State or other unit should work out for itself the form that suits it best. Immediately after the last war, Lord Bryce in his “Modern Democracies” summed up the lessons of a scientific study of the actual working of democratic governments. He observed that popular governments were sought for and won, not because they were good in themselves, but on account of grievances endured or benefits desired and that, if these governments did not confer the benefits expected, nations might adopt ‘new methods of government’—prophetic words written before Nazism, Fascism etc. arose. Democracy is a most difficult form of government; it has to justify itself by its achievements for the good of the people and it must be sustained and kept alive by the spirit of give and take, mutual understanding and compromise becoming widespread among us.

His Highness the Maharaja who promulgated this constitution and his Government are most anxious that it should work well and bring happiness to the people of the State and they look forward to its developing on right lines. It is for this reason that I have spoken

today of these general principles. There is nothing new in them and all of you are no doubt familiar with them. But it is necessary that we should remind ourselves of them frequently.

Before concluding, I should like once and again to thank the members for the interesting discussions and the admirable temper with which they were conducted.

PART II

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

AT THE BARODA DISTRICT CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE,
23-12-28.

I thank you sincerely for the address presented by the co-operators of the Padra taluka and the kindly sentiments expressed in it. I welcome this opportunity of meeting you and taking part in your deliberations and understanding your difficulties. In your address you refer to my deep interest in the co-operative movement. This interest is the result of a conviction that has been steadily growing in me during many years of service in different capacities—that if there is any single movement through which India can attain economic salvation, it is the co-operative movement.

We have every reason to be gratified with the growth of the co-operative movement in the State. There are now 972 societies of which 874 are for credit and 93 for purposes other than credit. Taking the figures for Baroda district we find that the societies number 410 with a total membership of 16,145 and a working capital of Rs. 38 lakhs. On the basis that one member represents a family of five, the movement has touched about 80,000 people or 11 per cent of the total population of the district.

Gratifying as these figures are, I would like to ask yourself this question. Has the movement developed genuine co-operative spirit among the people? The primary object is to inculcate habits of thrift and punctuality in the repayment of dues. Judged by these tests the movement leaves much to be desired. The volume of unpaid arrears is steadily increasing from year to year. I have asked the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to study this question of unpunctuality in repayment, its causes and remedies intensively with regard to a few societies. But I should like to impress on you that it is only by sustained propaganda on your part that we shall be able to improve the quality of the movement and after all, it is quality that matters.

It is natural that the societies for the supply of credit predominate over other types. In the ordinary village credit societies we have the simplest form of co-operative organisation ; its working is comparatively easy ; and it caters for a need which is genuine and widespread. I should like, however, to remind you that there are other ways in which the co-operative principle can be applied to the everyday life of our towns and villages. The merit of co-operation is in its endless variety—its adaptability to the manifold needs of a progressive community.

I should like to emphasise here one subject of cardinal importance. The basic fact in the agricultural economy of India is this. Agriculture depends on seasonal conditions and our farmers are therefore actually employed in agricultural operations only for a portion of the year—unfortunately a very short one in the greater part of India. It goes without saying that a country in which the bulk of the population can put in useful work only during a small part of the year and has to spend the rest of it in enforced inaction is bound to be economically inefficient. Further this enforced unemployment tends to make the people unemployable and brings other evils in its train. Now, the great task before co-operators is to attack this root-evil. There are broadly speaking two lines of approach : the first is to enable agriculturists to work longer on their farms, and the second is to develop occupations subsidiary to agriculture. One of the ways of effecting the first object is to enable the farmer to sink wells on his land and to adopt improved methods of seed selection and cultivation. The provision of subsidiary occupations requires careful individual study of conditions in small homogeneous areas. In selecting suitable occupations to be placed before the agriculturists three points should be borne in mind. In the first place, these should be such as would fit in with the usual agricultural operations in the area and should, if possible, be in consonance with the sentiments and traditions of the people. Secondly, they should not require a considerable outlay of capital. And thirdly, they should not be of a very technical nature, so that men, women and the young people in the family might all be engaged on them. In accordance with these principles a special officer was employed last year to study conditions

in selected areas in Baroda, Petlad and Padra talukas in which the production of milk is a fairly well established subsidiary occupation. The special officer's report was considered and an attempt was made to organise societies of milk producers in these areas. This is meeting with encouraging success and 23 societies have been registered in the last few months. The members of these societies number 525. They were advanced loans amounting to Rs. 25,000 by the Government with which they have increased their stock by purchasing 277 more buffaloes. Market gardening was once a well established subsidiary occupation in Padra and it is disappointing to see that in recent years it has been declining. It would suggest an intensive attempt to revive it. Vegetable growers should be organised into societies which would supply them with long term loans for sinking wells or purchasing oil engines and pumps and assist them in marketing their produce. I am asking the Registrar to distribute copies of the order passed by Government on this subject and I appeal to every one of you to assist the department in popularising the ideas contained in it and giving effect to the policy laid down by the Government. His Highness' Government feel strongly that it is only by awakening a genuine interest in the movement among the rural population and instilling into them a desire for a higher standard of life which would in turn stimulate their energies for increased production that the aim they have in view can be realised.

This cannot be achieved by the efforts of the official agencies alone. There should be in every taluka or in a smaller unit, if possible a band of enthusiastic workers who would form a link between the department and the people and carry on educative propaganda among the people. To my mind there cannot be a higher form of social service than this and I earnestly hope that such organisations will spring up in every part in the State.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for extending to me this opportunity of meeting you all and for the cordiality of your welcome. I wish this conference every success and would invite you now to commence your business session.

AT THE OPENING OF THE TRAINING CLASS FOR WORKERS
IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT STARTED BY SAYAJI
SAHAKAR SEVAK SANGH AT BARODA, 8-8-31.

It gives me much pleasure to come here to-day as it gives me an opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the good work which is being done by the Shree Sayaji Sahakar Sevak Sangh.

The most potent means of improving the economic condition of agriculturists is the co-operative movement. For the successful working of the movement, two conditions are essential. Firstly, all those who are in the movement as members of societies, as directors and as managers of co-operative banks must be thoroughly familiar with its principles. A co-operative society is essentially a banking business and calls for business acumen in those that manage it. We must remember that seventy five lakhs of rupees belonging to the public are invested in this movement. To conduct the operations on sound lines it is necessary to bring to bear on them sound 'business' principles. It is necessary therefore to impart thorough training to all workers. Bands of trained workers should be made available before societies can be started in large numbers. The Sangh conducts training classes for this purpose and I should like to impress on you the need for seeing that these classes are run on efficient lines.

Secondly, enthusiastic workers familiar with the principles of the movement, should conduct propaganda among agriculturists. They should impress on them the need for avoiding unproductive expenditure and for thrift and how, by combining together, they can forge a powerful weapon for their uplift.

The recent catastrophic fall in agricultural prices has affected the movement injuriously and it will need hard and sustained work to rehabilitate the societies. The Government are preparing schemes of reconstruction and they have no doubt that non-official workers will give all the assistance they can in this direction.

Today we have in our midst distinguished co-operators like Dewan Bahadur Malji and Mr. Jadhav with us. They possess wide

experience and intimate knowledge of the movement in British India and we are grateful to them for their interest in the movement in the State. Both areas are intermingled and the problems are similar and such contacts between co-operators working in adjoining areas are of the utmost value.

I should like before concluding to say a few words about the Development Officer Mr. Manilal Nanavati who is vacating this post for a higher one. I have personally known his work for the last four years and can bear testimony to his devotion to the co-operative movement. He was the pioneer of co-operation in the State and to him the movement owes a deep debt. Dr. Pagar, who is succeeding him is an experienced officer and I feel sure that under him the work will be carried on with the same zeal.

AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE RURAL RECONSTRUCTION CENTRE AT KOSAMBA, 16-4-32.

It gives me much pleasure to take part in the proceedings of this afternoon and to open the Rural Reconstruction Centre at Kosamba which His Highness' Government have decided to start under an experienced worker, Mr. Jacobi.

His Highness' deep interest in all movements for the betterment of the condition of agriculturists in the State, is known to all of you. Only recently, he has given a signal proof of this. When prices of agricultural produce began to fall, he on his own motion, held in abeyance the resettlement of a taluka which had been sanctioned some months before; and he also ordered that all resettlements falling due should be postponed till better times. I need not also recall to you the generous remissions he has sanctioned when agricultural conditions have necessitated the grant of relief.

His Highness has established numbers of well organised departments in the State, the aim of which is to improve village life in all its aspects. We first have the education department with its network of primary schools and village libraries. Secondly, we have the co-operative department with its credit organisation, societies for sale and purchase, for consolidation of holdings and other purposes. This movement has attracted over 30 lakhs of rupees of private capital to finance the every day needs of agriculture and is rendering other services of great value to kheduts. Thirdly, we have the Agriculture department which is demonstrating to agriculturists the use of improved seeds and appliances and assisting in the introduction of varieties of cotton, tobacco and other crops of great economic value. Fourthly, there is the Industries department which promotes weaving and other subsidiary occupations. Then there is the Sanitary department which concerns itself with the manifold problems of rural health. Lastly, we have the panchayats which have the duty of providing wholesome drinking water in village and developing rural communications.

While on the subject of panchayats, I should like to speak to you of a change in their organisation which was made two years ago in the interests of the rural population. As you know, all kheduts pay a cess of 1 anna in the rupee of the land assessment for panchayat purposes. Till two years ago, all the yield from this cess was paid over to mahal and prant panchayats and spent on the bigger villages, the needs of which were better known, while the smaller ones were neglected. To remedy this, it has now been ordered that every village should be given a portion of the cess so that in course of time a fund will be accumulated out of which villages can finance works of permanent utility. Further by the abolition of the intermediate agency of mahal panchayats, considerable expenditure has been saved on establishments, travelling allowance etc., and larger amounts are now devoted to a beneficial programme of works. I shall mention two examples of this. First is the feeder roads programme extending all over the state. Upto the end of the last year, the panchayats had constructed 149 miles of such roads. The Government have given as a grant to the panchayats half the cost of all bridges and culverts and the total cost of land acquisition. Then the Government last year

asked panchayats to conduct a survey of rural water supplies. As a result, it was found that drinking water supplies were inadequate in 427 villages, and a programme has been adopted by panchayats for remedying this state of things. This programme will be completed in five years. The change has thus been of immense benefit to the rural populations. I hope, the village panchayats will not dissipate the resources which are now placed at their disposal, but will accumulate them so that they may be in a position to find funds for carrying out useful work in their villages. As a result of earmarking of the cess for villages, already there are signs of increased activity on the part of village panchayats. Last year, these panchayats held as many as 20,892 meetings and expended Rs. 1,86,057 on water supplies, communications etc.

I have spoken at length on this subject as His Highness' Government are anxious that village panchayats should become live bodies actively interested in the well-being of villages. It is only in this way that rural reconstruction in the real sense will become possible.

The object of the Rural Reconstruction Centre which is being started to-day is the improvement of all sides of rural life. One of its most important activities will be the introduction of occupations subsidiary to agriculture such as poultry farming, bee keeping, kitchen gardening, etc. I need not tell you how vital this is. Owing to seasonal conditions, agriculture is possible only for a certain number of months in the year ; and, by the establishment of industries in which agriculturists can engage themselves when there is no work in the fields, their wealth will be increased. Then, classes will be held at which elementary lessons in agriculture, co-operation, sanitation and hygiene will be given, coupled with practical training in poultry farming and bee keeping. Lectures and demonstrations will also be given at Kosamba and surrounding villages. The success of a centre like this depends entirely on the co-operation of enlightened agriculturists in the area, and I appeal to all here to-day, and to those who have been unable to be present here, to do their best to spread the benefits of the movement widely so that, in the next few years, we may be able to start more and more centres like this in all parts of the State.

I now declare the Kosamba Rural Reconstruction Centre open.

ON THE OCCASION OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WEEK AT
DABHOI, 25-1-34.

It gives me sincere pleasure to be present at the commencement of this "week" which is to be dedicated exclusively to problems of rural reconstruction. I take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Mukerjea, and the officials and non-officials associated with him on the inauguration of this useful campaign.

Writing an introduction to the economic studies made by some officers of the State, I said, "No lasting improvement can be achieved in the conditions of rural life unless all sides of it are attacked at the same time; the many sides of it are all so closely inter-connected. There are numbers of departments of Government which concern themselves with individual aspects of village life—education, agriculture, co-operation, industries, public health, etc. Officers come to the villagers as isolated workers and they themselves have no conception of a common aim—the development of a desire for a higher standard of living all round." There should be a recognition of the principle that "all aspects of village life are inter-related and that concentrated efforts should be made to deal with all of them and to bring about an awakening of the minds of the people which alone can supply the motive power to progress."

The value of the activities you begin to day lies in this. You take village life as a whole—in all its varied aspects. You show to the people and the officers how closely connected are the activities of all the departments that work in villages: education, agriculture, co-operation, industries, sanitation and so on; and you also show how it is only by the people and the officers of Government labouring in the spirit of mutual co-operation and good will that results can be achieved.

We often asked ourselves—what is it we have in mind when we talk of reconstructing village life? What we do aim at? What is our ideal?

Let me attempt a brief answer to this. We wish to develop in the people living in our villages a desire for a higher standard of

living, 'a will to live better', for it is this that furnishes the motive power to all progress. And when I speak of a "better life" I do not use it in the economic or material sense alone. I use the words in the widest possible sense. To put it differently, we wish that the squalor and monotony and dullness of village life should be eliminated and that it should become full and varied and interesting, so that the more ambitious young men born in the villages should find satisfaction in living in them and working in them; it should not be their aim to escape from it at the earliest possible opportunity, exchanging it for a life of drudgery in an office in the nearest town.

How is this to be done? Let me say this at once. A thorough going revolution like this cannot be achieved in a year or even a few years; it calls for intensive and prolonged efforts over many years but it is work well worth doing.

In the campaign that we are organising we should have an economic programme and a moral and educational programme. Both are equally important and should go on side by side. They are really inter-connected.

A basic fact in rural life is that, owing to seasonal conditions, agriculture can be carried on only for a few months in the year. For a larger portion of the year therefore the people have to live in enforced idleness. The economic waste resulting from this is apparent, the 'moral' waste is less obvious, but is none the less serious. It is the tedium, the long wait from the harvest to the rains, that is responsible for much of the ugliness of village life, its factions and rivalries and its squalor. In the forefront of our programme therefore we should attempt to provide work in the villages for as large a part of the year as possible. The methods for this should vary as conditions in villages vary. But certain main lines can be indicated. The Agriculture department suggests improved varieties of crops, better manures, forms of tillage, industrial crops etc. Then there is irrigation. Then again we have subsidiary occupations. In this last respect our State is in a most favourable position. We have many big towns the wants of which our villages can supply; and kitchen gardening, poultry

farming, dairying, etc., have long been established in parts of the State. These should be extended to fresh areas and better and more scientific processes and organisation introduced. To do this means careful preliminary investigation in individual villages or groups of them; and educative propaganda on a large scale. Co-operation offers the readiest means of advancing this movement.

Then the village panchayats should be made fully alive to their responsibilities. The Government have placed before them schemes for feeder roads and rural water supplies and have also endowed them with independent financial resources. These resources should not be dissipated on comparatively useless schemes. The panchayats should consider what schemes of permanent utility are needed in their villages; have estimates prepared for them by the prant engineers, and with the help of grants from prant panchayats and Government and loans raised from Government on the security of their annual income, execute the works economically.

I have referred already to the educational and moral side of the programme. This should begin in the village school. The first lesson to teach is the dignity of labour—that working with the hand is honourable, at least as honourable as being a clerk in a firm or in an office. This of course should be taught to the adult as well. Then, there are the social customs which sap the physical vigour of our race and enfeeble and enslave the mind. A crusade must be organised against them. Chief among these are the evils of early marriage and the elaborate marriage and funeral ceremonies which account for most of the rural indebtedness. The real religion which is ennobling should be disentangled from debasing superstitions.

Then again, we should organise healthy recreations. Lantern lectures, dramas, music etc., should be an invariable feature and, I hope, radio broadcasting in the near future. And, every village should have a library with good books and use them. In short we want to enlist all the agencies for healthy living we can think of.

In what I have said above, I outlined in a general way what we should do if we are to achieve our aim of making village life full

of interest. This will have suggested to you three points which I may emphasize. First, you should deal with all sides of the problem in an intensive way. Secondly, the efforts must be continuous ; it must be there daily and hourly. Thirdly the work demands the co-operation of the Government, of the panchayats and of hordes of non-official workers with enthusiasm and the spirit of social service. There is room for thousands of these in the vast work that remains to be done—work that will help to build up our nation more than anything else.

If this “week” assists in however small a measure in enlisting such co-operation and in the starting of useful work in even a small number of villages, Mr. Mukerjea and others will be amply rewarded for their labours.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION EXHIBITION AT AMRELI, 31-3-35.

It gives me sincere pleasure to be here today to open the village reconstruction exhibition. For, at Amreli, we have bands of enthusiastic workers who go into the villages and devote time and energy and funds for the uplift of the people, and I should like personally to acknowledge the immense value of the services rendered by them.

As you all know, for a period of over 50 years His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has laboured assiduously in the cause of rural development. You know the main planks in his policy. There is first compulsory mass education, which lies at the root of all progress. Amreli was the earliest field for this experiment. Compulsion for boys and girls was introduced here in 1893, and is now operative throughout the State. At present we have about 6,500 teachers engaged in imparting literacy all over the State. We attempt to give primary education a rural bias, the object being to stop the drift to

towns. Further, we make teachers "rural minded". In training colleges they are taught the elements of agriculture and co-operation and other rural problems, and similar instruction is given to them in the refresher classes held periodically. The aim of Government is that teachers should take their legitimate place in the life of a village and become useful members of the community. There is also a widespread network of libraries to prevent lapse into illiteracy, which is always a danger in the existing conditions. Secondly, there is the system of village panchayats. Every village in the State is under a statutory body whose function it is to improve all aspects of life in it. These panchayats have assigned to them a definite share of the local cess collected in the village and also specified items of miscellaneous revenue. These funds should not be dissipated for temporary purposes; the object is that they should be devoted to permanent works of utility for the benefit of the village. The panchayats are again charged with the duty of seeing that the services for which lands have been assigned in the past are rendered to the village. Thirdly there are the technical departments dealing with the economic problems confronting agriculturists. The Agriculture department seeks to establish varieties of crops suited to district areas, teach improved processes and better seed selection. The Co-operative department finances the crops and aims at inculcating habits of thrift and of prudent productive expenditure besides organising joint purchase and sale and marketing on an economical basis. The Industries department teaches subsidiary industries to engage agriculturists in their spare hours and in the long period of enforced idleness between crop and crop. The improvement of the breed of cattle is a matter for the Veterinary department. Then, there is rural public health on which health officers are engaged.

It is again laid down as a policy by His Highness that Government should periodically review the activities of all these departments. The Government ask about each of them, "Do they fulfil the purposes for which they were created?" There have been several such inquiries on the working of compulsory education and as a result, there is a progressive improvement in quality. Similarly, agriculture, co-operation and all development departments are

subjected to searching scrutinies, so that the value of the services they render to the people may be assessed.

The Government also insist that the district panchayats should discharge satisfactorily their duties to the rural population, as it often happens that the less clamorous sections of the population are overlooked. Let me give you two recent instances. There is first the problem of the rural water supplies. We had surveys which disclosed that in many remote villages, drinking water was not available in adequate quantities to the people. A programme was then drawn up which involved the construction of 533 wells in such villages, and it was ordered that this should be carried out within three years with the help of grants from Government. By 1933-34, 204 wells had been completed and 154 were in progress. Then again, there is the programme of the feeder roads. His Highness the Maharaja is keen on railway construction and Baroda, for its area, is the part of India best served by railways. But for a long time systematic efforts were not made by district panchayats to link up to the railway all villages in the neighbourhood. Investigations were therefore started and a programme of 460 miles of feeder roads was sanctioned, Government undertaking to give practically half the cost of the whole scheme. In the same way, Government have liberally assisted the Mehsana District Board in the artesian and sub-artesian bore wells which are being provided in the Harij and Chanasma talukas. In the last few years over 2½ lakhs have been given as grants for these purposes.

I can give more instances of the special attention which is being paid to the countryside. But this is unnecessary ; for reports of these activities are published in Gujarati in the Adnyapatrika and are available to those that want to know what is being done.

Now you may ask : Is Government satisfied with the progress that has been made ? My answer is decidedly 'no'. What has been done is nothing to what remains to be done. We have had and are having enthusiastic officers who devote much time and attention to the problems of rural progress, they are helped in their efforts by non-official workers drawn from all ranks of society. But the conditions under which these problems have to be solved are extraordinarily

difficult. What we do want to do is to accelerate the progress. In this age of aeroplanes we do not want the villages in India to be moving at the pace of bullock-carts.

What then should we do to ensure a more rapid improvement in the conditions under which over 80 per cent of our people live?

Let us attempt to define our goal. What do we mean when we talk of rural reconstruction? The answer has been given often. Our aim is to develop in the people living in villages a desire for a higher standard of living—'the will to live better' for, it is in this that we have the motive power of all progress. Further, no lasting improvement can be achieved unless all sides of village life are attacked at the same time. There are numbers of departments of Government which concern themselves with different aspects of this. These I have enumerated above—education, agriculture, industries and so on. Officers of these departments come to the villages as isolated workers, and many of them have no conception of the common aim. There should be a recognition of the principle that all aspects of village life are inter-related and that concerted efforts should be made to deal with all of them and to bring about an intense desire for a higher standard of comfort.

Actuated by these considerations, His Highness has recently sanctioned the establishment of a rural reconstruction centre at Kosamba. He also spent a whole day examining its work; so great is his personal interest in it. The lines on which this centre should be run have been laid down in an order which has been published. In my view, rural improvement centres to be successful should work along these lines. It is not the intention that the details of the Kosamba scheme should be followed everywhere, but the main principles are of universal application.

Let me emphasize these broad lines of work.

The fundamental ideas are these :—

- (i) A rural reconstruction centre should aim at effecting an improvement in all aspects of rural life. The agriculturists must be made to change their old-time outlook. As a

writer has said "at the heart of the problem lies the development of the desire for a higher standard of living. In other words the central problem is psychological, not technical. The will to live better must furnish the driving power".

- (ii) The work which is intended to achieve this end should be intensive and, in order that it may be so, it should be confined to a group of villages in which trained workers can establish personal contact with every agriculturist.
- (iii) In every village leadership of the best type should be developed. It is the example of one villager that best appeals to all villagers.
- (iv) That work is one in which best results can be secured by a combination of official and non-official workers or rather by the expert and non-expert working together in the closest co-operation.

Acting on these fundamental principles the rural worker should develop an all round programme: economic, educational and moral.

The economic programme should come first. There is one single outstanding fact in the agricultural economy of India. It is this. Owing to seasonal and other conditions, work on the land is possible only during a portion of the year. Where there are no irrigation facilities, work is confined to about 3 months a year and where, such facilities exist to 5 or 6 months. The result is that millions of people are unemployed over long period of the year. I attribute to this all the evils of village life with which we are familiar. When people work only for a few months of the year, naturally their labour becomes inefficient. Then litigation, factions and other evils follow from this enforced idleness. Most earnest efforts should, therefore be directed to the provision of remunerative work in the villages for a much longer period than at present. It is not enough that villagers are taught to adopt on their holdings the improvements which the agricultural department have proved to be necessary for the crops that are raised. We must go further than this and provide subsidiary occupations which can engage the agriculturists and their

families in the intervals between one crop and another. The selection of these industries is a matter requiring much careful investigation. We cannot have one industry which will answer the needs of any large area. Each village or each group of homogeneous villages will have to be carefully surveyed for suitable industries. These should be such as can be easily learnt and carried on in their houses by agriculturists in leisure hours. The marketing of the products should also be carefully organised. This means prolonged intensive work over a long period. Economic work in a village is not complete until (i) the crops raised are the most suitable and the best processes taught by the agricultural department are practised, (ii) every family has a subsidiary occupation which engages all the members of it for a reasonable portion of the year. At the Kosamba centre, the following subsidiary industries are attempted :—

- (i) weaving, (ii) rearing of poultry, (iii) bee keeping, (iv) eri-silk,
- (v) kitchen gardens, and (vi) to a certain extent dairying.

One cannot say that all of these will be successful—some will be and some will not be. But there should be no slackening of efforts in promoting industries which may ultimately be found suitable.

Again every village should have a co-operative society. Such a society should not be regarded as a facile agency for giving loans. It should be rather regarded as an agency for discouraging unproductive loans, seeing that loans advanced are applied for the purposes for which they were advanced and in all ways inculcating self-help and thrift. The co-operative movement, properly used, can render innumerable services to the village. If regarded as a mere credit agency, it does incalculable harm.

No less important are the educational and moral programmes. The villagers should be encouraged to read books from village libraries as otherwise they easily lapse into illiteracy. There should also be propaganda against such evils as early marriage and unreasonable customs connected with social observances. Village surveys made by revenue officers have shown that, in many villages, expenditure on marriage and funeral ceremonies is responsible for more than 50 per

cent of the total volume of agricultural indebtedness. Better-living societies based on wholesome principles are a useful agency for uplift.

These are some important directions of work. No enumeration can, however, be complete. All aspects of village life are to be tackled and none can be overlooked.

The Government are anxious that intensive work of this kind should be carried on steadily from year to year in groups of villages in all parts of the State. It is with this object that they established the Kosamba centre. When trained workers are available more centres will be opened. The Government have also impressed on their revenue and development officers that they should do intensive work of this nature in selected villages as an object lesson to other workers.

I am glad to see the excellent work carried on at Amreli. All of us will watch with interest the results of your labours. I need not assure you that whatever help Government and its officers can give will be given unstintingly to your workers.

ON THE OCCASION OF INAUGURATING THE CO-OPERATIVE BANKING UNION FOR SINOR AND KARJAN TALUKAS,

9-5-40.

It gives me sincere pleasure to come here this evening and inaugurate the co-operative Banking union for Karjan and Sinor talukas. I have listened with much interest to the account given of the aims of the union and its membership and financial position, and congratulate the organisers on the satisfactory beginning that they have made.

Reference has been made to my devotion to the co-operative movement. This began over thirty years ago and is based on the conviction, which grows daily stronger in me, that there is no salvation

for agriculturists in this country except through that movement. The progress made in co-operation in the Baroda State under the fostering care of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government is known to all of you and I do not propose to repeat facts and figures which you can easily obtain in the annual reports. Of all the activities which conduce to the welfare of the people of the State, this movement is dearest to the hearts of His Highness the Maharaja and myself.

The President of the union has referred to the policy of the Government in regard to agriculturists in the last few years. When the depression began in 1929-30, His Highness' Government initiated a comprehensive programme to meet the evil,—laws were enacted for debt conciliation and for granting relief in regard to agricultural debts; tenancy laws were passed; and land mortgage banks were constituted receiving liberal aid from Government. It is gratifying to me to hear that the two talukas of Karjan and Sinor have benefitted from these measures and that, in particular, the Baroda land mortgage bank has helped agriculturists on such sound business-like lines that absolute punctuality has been secured in repayment of instalments.

You have spoken in appreciative terms of the important measure of relief promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja—the reduction in land revenue rates all over the State. When as the result of the settlement of the customs question with the Government of India in 1936, there was an improvement in the finances of the State, His Highness the late Maharaja and His Government decided that this should be used for giving relief to agriculturists in the State. The exact form this relief should take formed the subject of the closest consideration. Experienced officers of the State favoured different schemes and ultimately His Highness the late Maharaja, on the advice of the Council, sanctioned the measure of relief that was announced in December 1938. Credit for this is taken by individual political and other organisations. Let me tell you that such claims are totally unfounded. The agriculturists owe this to His Highness the late Maharaja and His Highness the present Maharaja and only to them. So far His Highness the late Maharaja was concerned, this was his

last act of love to the people; and in working out the proposals which were ultimately sanctioned, none took keener interest than the present Maharaja who was then a member of the Executive Council. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the first act of his reign was the extension of the scheme of relief announced in December 1938. His message of the 20th February of 1939 which contains this announcement will ever be remembered in the annals of the State. Let there be no mistake about the policy of His Highness the Maharaja. It is that the benefit of all progressive improvements in the finances of the State should go to the agriculturists of the State.

In granting this relief, His Highness the Maharaja expressed the hope that, as its result, "the agriculturists will be encouraged in a life of prudence and thrift and will earnestly seek a higher standard of life and level of prosperity". It is the duty of the co-operative union and all the societies affiliated to it by ceaseless efforts to see that this hope is realised. The function of co-operation does not end with the financing of the agriculturists. Its aim is to bring about improvements in all aspects of village life—to give to the agriculturist the will to live better and to fill him with an ambition for a higher standard of life. To emphasize the unity of village life and the necessity for dealing with all sides of it, the Government have recently started a rural reconstruction centre in the Karjan taluka, the object of which is to improve village life in every direction through the co-operative movement. I hope all your societies will make it a point to introduce in their villages the lessons learnt at the centre.

It will interest you to learn of three important schemes recently sanctioned for the benefit of the rural population of the State. The first is the formation of a Trust associated with the name of Her Highness the Maharani for Medical relief for women and children especially in the remoter rural areas. The second is a tube well irrigation scheme for the Vijapur area on the grid system at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs. Orders have been placed for the electrical plant etc. but it is feared that owing to the war their supply will be delayed. We shall however be able to start irrigation from five wells before the end of the year with the help of portable oil-engines, as an object-

lesson to agriculturists. Thirdly, a committee was appointed for working out a comprehensive scheme of improvements for northern Mehsana ; the recommendations of the Committee have been sanctioned and the first year's programme of works is now in full swing.

ON THE OCCASION OF UNVEILING THE BUST OF H. H. THE MAHARAJA PRATAPSINHA GAEKWAD, AT RANOLI, 18-3-41.

It gives me much pleasure to come to Ranoli to perform this pleasant function. I consider it a privilege to take part in it. Patel Lallubhai has given us an account of how this idea of having a bust of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib took shape. As you all know, His Highness the Maharaja Sahib who has been associated with the administration of the State for many years in several capacities, has always taken the keenest interest in the well-being of agriculturists of the State. Even before he became Maharaja, he played a leading part in working out the scheme of temporary remissions in assessment which were promulgated by His Highness the late Maharaja. One of his first acts as Maharaja was to make this temporary relief permanent. This he announced in his gracious message to the people of 20th February 1939. It is therefore natural that the people of this village should express their gratitude—a gratitude which is shared by the State—in this fitting manner. I am sure the bust which is going to be unveiled to-day will be the proud possession of the whole village and will serve to remind the generations to come of the great interest taken by the Ruler of the State in their welfare.

If there is one thing to which His Highness the Maharaja attaches more importance than to any other, it is rural reconstruction. Now, in Ranoli much work has been done to improve living conditions in the village—this is due to the initiative of the prominent gentlemen in the village supported by Mr. Uplap and other workers.

The expression, 'rural reconstruction' is now familiar to all of us. This expression covers a multiplicity of activities, embracing all aspects of life of the village. Its aim is to fill the people with an ambition for a higher standard of living and the spirit to work persistently for securing such an improved standard. From what follows you will realise how manifold the directions are in which villages have to improve themselves. The village school should be the centre of all efforts for improvement and the village panchayat and the village co-operative society the agents through whom the initiative for improvement should come.

Perhaps, it will be helpful if I give an idea of the varied activities comprised in this expression, rural reconstruction.

Most of the people in the village are engaged in agriculture. The first task is therefore to improve agricultural methods by using better seed, collecting manures and applying them intelligently, conserving the fertility of the soil, preventing erosion etc. The fertility of the soil, should never be allowed to be reduced. The land must get more put into it than is taken out and the soil must be conserved. It is only in this way that one can expect increased productivity from land. But agriculture itself is seasonal. It can engage men and women only for a certain number of months in a year and no village can prosper if its labour force has to remain unoccupied for a great part of the year. The problem therefore arises how to keep men and women in the village occupied for the whole of the year. What subsidiary occupations can be devised? This is a problem to be tackled for each village according to its conditions. Some villages can take up cattle breeding and dairying; some poultry; some spinning and weaving, if possible with the use of electric power; and everyone should have kitchen gardens. By these means, village life will be so arranged that everybody will have work for a reasonable number of months in the year and for a reasonable number of hours in a day so that the productive capacity of the village may be increased to the utmost. For financing agriculture there must be a co-operative society. On this society, every household in the village must be represented. It should serve all the

needs of the village, buy and sell jointly, suppress unproductive borrowing and encourage thrift and saving.

I have talked about the village school. Every boy and girl should attend the school for the compulsory period and acquire literacy. Literacy once acquired is not lasting unless the village has a library and everybody in the village, men and women, uses it constantly. It is only in this way that literacy is preserved and the mind becomes receptive to new ideas. I hope the village library will be stocked among other things with books inculcating the true principles of our religions which are unity, charity and tolerance. The village school should be the centre round which the life of the village should revolve.

The village should also have other amenities. The first essential is good drinking water supply for men and cattle. Then, there should be a road connecting it to the nearest railway station or to a main artery of communication. Then what is called the village sanitation is important. There should be healthy methods of collecting manure and keeping it, dealing with night soil and refuses etc. Epidemics like small pox and cholera can be completely eliminated by ordinary simple precautions. The State's policy is to provide a medical institution within five miles of every village and there is a system of grant-in-aid for village dispensaries.

Hinduism is one of the world's noblest religions. Its old purity however has become encrusted with base superstitions. These superstitions must be abolished. Untouchability is one of these. Evils have also become attached to our customs like marriage. The evil of dowries is one of which you all know. This ruins many a family and converts marriage into a market transaction. Then there are other ceremonies like funeral ceremonies, which have debasing effects. These harmful ceremonies should be suppressed. Caste panchayats should make their influence felt so as to revise these customs and not perpetuate them. Let me emphasize this—rural reconstruction is not worth talking about unless we fight against these social evils.

The communal life of the village should also be organised.

There should be provision for games and other recreations in which everybody in the village irrespective of caste or creed can take part. Our old customs, such as religious dramas and recitations are worth reviving wherever they have died out.

Let me remind you once again that no village activity is useful unless it is the common activity for the whole village. There should be no division in the village, no faction, no clique.

All such village activities must centre round the life at the school and the village pauchayat and the co-operative society working in the spirit of real service should have in view the advancement of villagers as a whole.

Only in this way can the village become a live factor in the life of the State.

This programme is a most ambitious one and can be realised only by co-operation between the villagers and the State. The State is most anxious to help such activities by liberal grants. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has often expressed his anxiety to assist in these measures. It is therefore the duty of the villagers to work zealously in the proper spirit of unity to secure an all-round improvement in their conditions of life.

I have sketched out very briefly and in broad lines what rural reconstruction means. The people of Ranoli have worked wholeheartedly for these ends. They have helped themselves and it has been a pleasure to Government to grant them such assistance as they have been able to. I commend this example to other villages of the State.

What I have said about the rural reconstruction is relevant to the function I have been asked to perform; because, as I told you, nobody realizes more keenly than His Highness the Maharaja Saheb the need for assisting the villages in the State to improve their conditions as rapidly as possible.

I have now much pleasure in unveiling this bust of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb.

AT THE OPENING OF THE BARODA CO-OPERATIVE BANKS' CONFERENCE, 22-9-41.

It gives me much pleasure to open this conference of workers in the field of co-operation.

In the last few years there has not been the same optimism about the co-operative movement as in the earlier years. This is not a special feature of the Baroda State. It is common to the whole of India- the feeling that the high hopes that were entertained of the movement have not been realised. It is worth while inquiring what the reasons are for this. Speaking in a general way, the movement began with too much enthusiasm. We thought we had discovered the remedy for all the evils of the agriculturist in India when we borrowed the idea of the movement. In the earlier years societies were formed most carefully. When for example the first Registrar of co-operative societies in Madras went to a village for the formation of a society, nothing struck me more than the time he took to explain the principles of the co-operative movement before he registered a society. He was unwilling to register a society unless he was satisfied that the villagers had understood the responsibility involved in becoming members and managing a society. It is possible that societies were not organised with the same care in the later years and that the villagers thought that a co-operative society was an agency for disbursing loans and did not understand that the primary idea of a society was thrift and avoidance of unprofitable expenditure. When the era of high prices disappeared and depression set in, the weaker societies naturally went under. The movement began to disclose defects. When this phase asserted itself somewhere in 1928-29, we issued instructions to the Registrar that the quality of the movement should be seen to: that there should be no hurry in forming new societies: and that business methods should be introduced on the financial side. As a result of these instructions, a policy of consolidation is being followed.

It is essential that all workers should understand what the fundamental principles of the movement are and should enforce them in the everyday working of societies. The primary object of the movement is to encourage thrift. A society is not intended to supply

unlimited credit to agriculturists. Provision of increased credit to a person who is improvident is a danger rather than an advantage. Before sanctioning a loan application, the directors should see that the applicant borrows what is really needed, that the loan is for a productive purpose and that what he borrows is actually applied for that purpose. An ordinary banking institution does not concern itself with the object for which the loan is raised, the manner in which it is applied and the actual use made by the borrower. In these respects a co-operative society differs from an ordinary bank. In a co-operative society, the board of management knows all the members and their circumstances and their repaying capacity. The directors see at least should see—that loans are raised for productive purposes, are well within the means of the borrowers and are actually applied for the purpose for which they are borrowed. Much of the weakness of the movement is due to the fact that the board of management is not always strong enough to apply these principles. The first thing to do before organising a society is to see that villagers are instructed in their obligations. The most important of these are the curtailment of unproductive expenditure and the necessity for punctual repayment. If these two lessons are enforced the movement will work better than it has worked in the past.

There is another important consideration. Ordinarily a village co-operative society should not merely be a credit organisation. It should satisfy all the needs of the village. Such societies are known as multi-purpose societies. This should be kept in view; otherwise the villager thinks that he has to go to the society only when he wants money.

The time has now come for us to consolidate the movement, to see that existing village societies are strengthened. A society should not consist exclusively of borrowers. It should be the joint possession of the whole village. Practically every householder should be a member. If all the members are borrowers, the scrutinising of applications will be overlooked. The best way of strengthening societies is to induce the larger landholders, etc., to join it in a spirit of social service. Many persons are unwilling to join

these societies on account of their being based on unlimited liability. But if this idea is properly analysed and it is realised that unlimited liability comes into operation only after the assets of all borrowers and the reserves, etc., are exhausted, this unwillingness will be overcome. The second way is by educating members in the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure. If this spirit becomes common, the movement will increase in stability. At present the department is organising non-credit societies. It is all to the good that the department devotes more and more attention to non-credit work. Whatever is done, it should not be forgotten that the movement is primarily a business movement. Every precaution should be taken to see that business methods are adopted. The primary responsibility for this rests on audit. The audit staff should be thoroughly trained and should give an indication to the board as soon as financial weakness becomes apparent, before it becomes too late. We hope to ensure increased efficiency on the part of the audit staff. But however good the staff under the Government may be, no progress is possible unless the movement is able to enlist the support of large numbers of public spirited workers. My object in coming here is to appeal to you and through you to the outside public for a band of disinterested workers. There is no movement in which work is more abundant and in which the rewards are more abundant. If in every mahal of the State we get half a dozen to ten such workers, we need have no fear for the success of the movement. My own faith in the movement has never flagged: it has increased from day to day. I am convinced that the only salvation of the agriculturists lies in the co-operative movement and there can be no nobler cause for social service than this.

AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE AGRICULTURISTS'
CO-OPERATIVE GINNING AND PRESSING
SOCIETY, LTD., SAMLAYA, 1-2-1942.

It has given me much pleasure to come here this morning and perform the opening ceremony of the factory of the Samalaya Agriculturists' Co-operative Ginning and Pressing Society, Limited. When a few days ago, I was invited to perform this function, I consented to do so most readily, for, I was pleased to see this backward area start the first ginning factory on a co-operative basis in the Baroda district. I congratulate the organisers of this concern who are pioneers in an enterprise which must play an important part in developing this area.

I have always believed that apart from the co-operative movement there is nothing that can save the agriculturist. In Baroda as elsewhere in other parts of India much attention has been paid in the past to the credit side of the co-operative movement. This indeed is inevitable. The credit side is a very necessary part of the movement. Loans are required by the agriculturists for sowing and other agricultural operations, before marketing the crops and for other purposes. But the movement, to be really useful, must make every effort to develop non-credit activities more and more to meet the varied needs of rural economy. I, therefore, welcome this co-operative ginning factory. It is a step in the right direction.

Your chairman has given us an idea of the difficulties which you had to face in establishing this factory—difficulties in obtaining the site, in raising funds, etc. You deserve to be congratulated for overcoming those difficulties. The whole world is now involved in a great war, and the conditions to which this has given rise are not particularly favourable for such enterprises. That you should have started the factory in spite of such adverse conditions is much to your credit.

His Highness the Maharaja takes the keenest interest in the co-operative movement, and His Highness' Government are also most anxious to foster the growth of the movement. You have spoken of the help that you expect from the Government in future ; I assure you

that the Government will do all they can to assist your enterprise by every legitimate means at their disposal and consistently with the principles of co-operation.

I once again offer to you my thanks for giving me this opportunity of coming here and performing this function and I wish the factory many years of useful service.

PART III
GENERAL

REMARKS AT THE TIME OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF
THE OKHA SALT WORKS, 5-5-27.

I have much pleasure in performing the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Okha Salt Works. The establishment of the Okha Salt Works opens a new chapter in the economic life of this part of the State. The Works will afford employment to the local population and in other ways assist in the development of this area and also of the newly opened port at Okha.

As you all know Mr. Kapilram Vakil is one of the best experts in this line in India. I am sure that, under his care, the Salt Works will have a great future and that, in time to come, we shall start here other industries based on salt.

I again thank Mr. Kapilram Vakil for giving me this opportunity of associating myself with this project, which has infinite possibilities.

ON THE OCCASION OF UNVEILING THE OIL PAINTINGS OF
SIR MANUBHAI N. MEHTA, EX-DEWAN OF BARODA AND
LATE PRINCIPAL A. B. CLARKE, 4-10-27.

It gives me much pleasure to perform this function. I do not think it is necessary for me to speak to you about Sir Manubhai Mehta whom you have all known well for many years. The Baroda College was the starting point of Sir Manubhai Mehta's career. He joined the College 35 years ago as a professor ; and throughout his long and illustrious career in the State in high positions, he retained his love for the College. It is therefore most appropriate that his oil

painting should adorn the College. It reminds all of us of the debt the College owes to him.

The late Mr. Clarke joined the College in 1904, and his association with it lasted for 21 years. For 17 years he was Principal. During his stewardship the College grew from strength to strength and attained its present eminent position among educational institutions in Western India. Mr. Clarke was a man of wide culture and his example will always be an inspiration to generations of students. This portrait will keep alive the memory of a gracious personality and of a life dedicated to the well-being of the institution with which he was so long and honourably connected.

AT THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, BARODA,

29-12-33.

I have been set down in the programme for a closing address. It is not my intention at the fag end of a long session, to attempt anything in the nature of a speech. I shall content myself with a few general remarks.

It has been a great privilege to us to have had with us so many scholars engaged in the study of the manifold aspects of the culture and civilization of our country—its languages and literatures, its art, history and philosophy. The session of the Conference has been a crowded one: all the twelve sections have worked several hours each day and considered a large variety of subjects. This indeed is inevitable, having regard to the conditions under which such meetings have to be arranged; the delegates are all busy men who have to return to their work immediately after the holidays and the field to be covered is a vast one. It must however be a matter of gratification to those on whom fell the responsibility for organising this Conference

that the whole programme has been carried through so successfully ; and it is my pleasant duty to thank all those who have contributed to this result—our President Mr. Jayaswal and the sectional presidents ; the Local Secretary Dr. Bhattacharyya, the members of the Reception Committee under the chairmanship of Rao Bahadur Ambegaokar, the office-bearers of the managing sub-committee, and others, officials and non-officials in charge of guests' camps and other arrangements.

I hope I shall not be accused of a narrow utilitarian outlook if I stress the point that the studies in which scholars and research workers like you are engaged have the utmost practical interest to Indian nationalism in its task of reconstruction. This is not the place to deal with the fascinating subject of India's reaction towards Western civilization. In India, as elsewhere in similar circumstances, we have had two contrasted schools of thought. The first, convinced that western science and culture were superior to the indigenous cultures, favoured the wholesale adoption of the new ideals and methods. The second, on the other hand, regarded the ideals for which western civilization stood as entirely evil, and in order to protect the indigenous culture from its onslaught sought, to use Lord Irwin's words, " In the development of its distinctive thought and practice a distinctive armour. " We are now in a more constructive era. We have no faith in wholesale imitation ; for we value highly the civilizations we have inherited : they are integral parts of our lives. Nor do we subscribe to the obscurantism which believes, contrary to the teachings of history, that a nation can go back many centuries to a self-contained rule of life. We hold firmly that, in the new India, we should reconstruct our national life in accordance with the genius of the races that inhabit the country, and at the same time assimilate and make our own the best elements in the western civilization. This is the ideal that actuates us in all fields of endeavour whether it be social reform, or the resuscitation of art or literature or the evolution of forms of Government—to build on the best that there is in our own past, incorporating at the same time the lessons which the nations of the West have to teach us. In the realisation of this ideal nothing can be more useful than the studies that have shown to us how our ancestors in the different epochs of the past lived and worked ; how our institutions originated and developed

and to what needs of the time they responded and what fundamental ideas have formed the essential vital spark of our cultures. Let me select a few instances. His Highness the Maharaja as you all know, has been a pioneer in social legislation. His aim is, while preserving the frame work of Hindu society and its essential characteristics, to weed out accretions for which there is no rational basis and which hamper progress. In this, the studies of our social and legal systems undertaken by great scholars have been of the highest value. Then, again, there is the history of systems of government in ancient and mediæval India which our president Mr. Jayaswal has enriched by his researches. Its usefulness at the present juncture cannot be denied. The renaissance in the literatures of India is yet another illustration. Modern writers in Gujarati, for example, while remaining true to the genius of the language, have not hesitated to adopt new literary forms and new subjects borrowed from the western world. This is equally true of other vernacular literatures as well. As has been well said "The safeguard against experiments, which can only end in chaos, is the wide diffusion of the historical sense and the recognition that 'counsels to which Time hath not been called, Time will not ratify.'". In my view, the most valuable function of these oriental studies is the wide diffusion of this historical sense.

I hope I may be forgiven these rather sketchy remarks which I shall now conclude. On behalf of His Highness the Maharaja and all of us in Baroda, we bid you good bye and offer to you our best wishes for a happy New Year. We trust that all of you found your stay in Baroda pleasant and profitable and that, by the proceedings of this the Seventh Oriental Conference and the contacts it has served to establish, fresh light has been thrown on some at least of the important subjects which form your life study.

AT THE OPENING OF THE GOLDEN JUBILEE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, BARODA, 6-1-36.

It is my privilege to request Your Excellency to open the Golden Jubilee Science and Technological Institute.

Soon after the Golden Jubilee celebrations, a number of prominent gentlemen belonging to the State met to concert steps for a suitable central memorial to commemorate the event; and they unanimously decided, with the consent of His Highness' Government, that this memorial should take the form of a Science and Technological Institute. An appeal was made for funds which met with generous response. We have received donations ranging from a few rupees to one of Rs. 40,000 given to us by Sheth Hasmukhlal Dhanjibhai of Baroda. A sum of Rs. 6 lakhs has so far been spent on the buildings, and the completion of the project with the necessary equipment will ultimately involve an expenditure of about 7½ lakhs of rupees.

The Institute is divided into three sections. There is first the Science Institute attached to the Baroda College. In recent years, there has been a large increase in the number of students seeking admission to the courses in science at the College and the new Science Institute has sought to provide, besides the necessary class rooms for theoretical instruction, ample laboratory accommodation for practical work. The number of admissions to these courses is now 280 as against 140 before the new Institute. The second is the Technological Institute. In this, research work will be carried on to assist important industries of the State—textiles, oils, chemicals etc. Our workers will keep in touch with industrial research conducted elsewhere and supplement this where needed, besides dealing with special problems relating to local industries. Thirdly, it is proposed to find accommodation in this building for the research work conducted under the auspices of the Agricultural department—analysis of soils, investigation of insectpests etc. In grouping together all these activities, our aim is to ensure close co-operation between research workers in the Industries and Agricultural departments on the one hand and the professors and research students in the College on the other.

I am glad to say the Alembic Chemical Works of Baroda have placed with the Baroda Government an endowment of Rs. 15,000 for supporting a research scholar in the Technological Institute. We hope that this enlightened example will be followed by other important industrial concerns in the State.

His Highness the Maharaja, whom Your Excellency felicitously described as the maker of modern Baroda, has always insisted that thorough practical and theoretical instruction in science is of the utmost value to India at the present time : and we feel that there can be no better memorial for the Golden Jubilee than this Institute. We hope that, as the years pass by, this Institute will produce a succession of scientific workers filled with the true spirit of research and that it will render signal assistance to agriculture and industries in the State.

On behalf of His Highness' Government and the people of the State, I offer to Your Excellency our warmest thanks for so graciously consenting to open the Golden Jubilee Science and Technological Institute. It is most gratifying to us that, by this act, Your Excellency should associate yourself with an important landmark in the history of the State—the Golden Jubilee of His Highness' accession.

I now request Your Excellency to open the Golden Jubilee Science and Technological Institute.

AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE STATUE OF H. H.
THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD, 13-3-36.

My first duty and privilege is to express our warmest thanks to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner for accepting our invitation to participate in this function, which is associated with one of the greatest landmarks in the history of the State—the Diamond Jubilee of the accession of His Highness Sayajirao III. Our sense of obligation is all the greater, as His Highness has responded to our request at such short notice and at considerable personal inconvenience.

This is not the place—nor is there any need—for recounting the achievements of the long reign of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad. They may be summed up by saying that he found Baroda in the middle ages and has placed it by his efforts in a prominent position among the progressive States of India. He has dedicated his life to the remaking of Baroda, and there is no aspect of its life and of its people which has escaped his influence and to which he has not imparted new life and vigour.

In December 1906, His Highness completed 25 years of personal responsibility as Baroda's Ruler, and in grateful appreciation of the many changes which had conduced to their social, moral and material advancement, his subjects decided to set up a permanent memorial to celebrate the Silver Jubilee. The form chosen was an equestrian statue of His Highness. This was prepared in bronze by the famous English sculptor Mr. F. Derwent Wood, A. R. A. and was erected near the main entrance of the Public Park, one of the earliest projects carried out by His Highness for the health and recreation of his people. This statue was unveiled by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar in March 1913.

In December 1926, came the Golden Jubilee of His Highness. His Highness attaches the greatest importance to the dissemination of modern science among his subjects, and it was decided that a Science and Technological Institute would be an appropriate manner of commemorating that great event. The foundation stone of the Institute was laid by the late Lord Reading, and the opening ceremony was

performed by Lord Willingdon during the recent Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

It has been the fortune of very few men in recorded history to guide the destiny of their realms for as long as sixty years, and the warmth of the numerous tributes paid in Baroda and elsewhere during the Diamond Jubilee to a rule crowded with beneficent activities will ever remain fresh in our memories and serve as an inspiration to future generations. The celebration committee has now a surplus of over six lakhs of rupees and this has been earmarked for village uplift and rural reconstruction, objects to which His Highness has especially devoted himself for so many years. The importance which His Highness attaches to the amelioration and prosperity of rural life was again emphasised in his memorable message to his subjects on January 3rd of this year, when he announced his decision to set apart a fund of one crore of rupees as a Diamond Jubilee Trust, the income of which is to be devoted to the improvement of all sides of village life, supplementing the amounts set apart in the State budgets for these purposes.

The equestrian statue erected in commemoration of the Silver Jubilee was the first public statue in the City of Baroda. Since that time, His Highness has adorned the city with many other inspiring statues and many magnificent buildings. Among the former are the statues of Shivaji in the Public Park, of Buddha in the Jubilee Square and of Maharaja Khanderao in the ground of the Municipal buildings.

The most recent and most pleasing gift to the capital is the statue which His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner has graciously consented to unveil today and to witness which we are assembled here. It is the work of a French sculptor Mr. Louis Bertola and its completion has cost approximately Rs. 80,000. This statue represents His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao III seated on his throne, and its unveiling forms part of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations which began in January last.

It was thought fitting that the statue should be erected on the present site in a busy thoroughfare and facing the city for the beauty

and amenities of which His Highness has done so much. Here it will stand for all time as a reminder to us and those who are to follow, how great and enduring is Baroda's debt to the personality and inspiring genius of His Highness, and how deep is the personal affection for him of each and every one of us.

It is unusual that a statue should be unveiled in the presence of the illustrious man whose life and qualities it is desired to commemorate. We are doubly fortunate today in that not only is His Highness among us, but that the unveiling should be performed by you, Sir, a distinguished brother Prince whose achievements for the moral and material welfare of his subjects rank high in the annals of enlightened statesmanship, and whose personal friendship with the Ruler of Baroda is of many years' standing.

And now, on behalf of the people of the State, I request Your Highness to unveil the statue of His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III, a statue which will endure as a symbol of the loving care with which His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has worked and is working for the good of Baroda and of its people.

AT THE PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT BARODA, TO PASS A
RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE AT THE DEATH OF
MR. A. S. TYABJI, 14-6-36.

It is a privilege to add my tribute to those paid to the memory of the late Mr. Abbas Tyabji. Mr. Tyabji was a judge of the High Court in the State for many years. In this capacity, he earned a reputation for ability and impartiality. But his interests transcended the legal sphere. He had the keenest interest in all questions relating to India. He and I did not see eye to eye on many matters: but I was always impressed by his sincerity and honesty of purpose and devotion to the cause of the poor. His range of sympathy was wide and this sympathy was translated into practical social service. Mrs. Tyabji always associated herself with all the movements in which her late lamented husband took part. We should like to convey to her our deep sympathy in the great loss which she, in common with us, has sustained.

AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE WADI BRANCH
OF THE SHREE CHIMNABAI INDUSTRIAL HOME
FOR WOMEN, BARODA, 9-8-36.

It gives me much pleasure to participate in this function and perform the opening ceremony of the Wadi branch of the Chimnabai Industrial Home for Women. I value the opportunity of associating myself with this beneficent movement. This institution is doing useful work amongst the women of Baroda City. We know the keen interest taken by His Highness the Maharaja and Her Highness the Maharani in movements for the uplift of women. The deep interest taken by Shrimati Shakuntala Raje is also seen from the message which has just been read out to us. The service which this institution is rendering is well-known, and the popularity which it so deservedly

enjoys is a true measure of the appreciation of its activities. Under its auspices, many workers learn useful handicrafts and are able to supplement their family income. This solves to some extent the problem of the people commonly said to belong to the lower middle class.

There are two ways in which the enlightened public of Baroda can support the Home by giving it financial support and by placing orders for the articles made in it. It is hoped that the appeal made by the management will meet with ready response. We are grateful to Mrs. Bhailal Amin for the donation which has just been announced. But we want more assistance so that, as time goes on, we may establish a large number of branches all over the State.

I now declare the Wadi centre open.

ON THE OCCASION OF PRESIDING AT THE LECTURE DELIVERED BY MR. D. N. APTE ON "FEDERATION,"

ON 13-1-37.

I regard the conception of an All-India Federation as an inevitable development and as a step—a necessary step—in the evolution of India towards Dominion Status. The conception of Dominion Status has undergone a change in the last few years. Dominion Status means the substance of independence. This is the goal that has been placed before us. In reaching that goal this conception of Federation is a necessary—an inevitable—step.

As I said, Dominion Status for the whole of India, in which British India and Indian India are united together, is the goal: and I cannot conceive of any future in which British India and the Indian States can remain separate entities, treading distinct paths. It is only by an All-India Federation that Indian India and British India as equal partners will take their rightful place in world polity.

The present Government of India Act is a step to this direction. At present under the Government of India Act, India is given broadly speaking, fiscal independence—power to adopt its own fiscal policy without dictation from outside. No doubt there are safeguards: but notwithstanding these the legislatures will have power to shape the economic policy of United India.

Since 1920 there has been a great change in the fundamentals of the economic situation in India. In the first place, there has been a great awakening in industrial development. New industries have grown up with large Indian capital—iron and steel, sugar, cement, etc. Secondly, in regard to the public debt of India, rupee loans have been raised and are largely held in India. Thirdly, everywhere we have economic nationalism and India is no exception. We all remember that as long as in 1919 the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Act dwelt on the need for India having power to frame her own tariff and economic policies like Australia, Canada, and other Dominions. What has happened since has strengthened the case for this and indeed made it inevitable. At present we have the Japanese and Lancashire delegations negotiating commercial agreements in this country. What the present Government of India Act does is, in fact, to recognise a situation that has already developed and to register an accomplished fact.

India is thus bound to have the power to settle its fiscal and other policies in its own interests. The Indian States are affected by these policies and so they should have a voice in shaping them. It is not possible to rely on treaties alone. So far as economic matters are concerned, these treaties were made many years ago before steam engines, railways, etc., and do not cover the whole field of such relations.

There can be no conflict of interests between Indian States and British India. They are inter-connected. If British India flourishes Indian States will flourish: and anything which prejudicially affects British India will similarly affect Indian States. If British India and Indian States join together as equal partners to evolve policies for the

good of the whole country, the ideal we all have at heart can be realised. To bring about such a Federation adjustments have to be made, as the two units have developed on parallel lines for many years. This task is not beyond the resources of statesmanship. There is no justification whatever for the statement made in some quarters that outside pressure is being exerted to induce States to join the Federation. As I have said, this conception of an All-India Federation is an inevitable step in the constitutional evolution of India, in the shaping of the future of the Indian polity, and the States, speaking generally, recognise this. Having said so much I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Apté for the trouble he has taken in preparing the history of this idea. He made one point on which I should like to give my personal view. He referred to the fact that the Government of India Act does not make provision for the manner of selection of members to the federal legislatures from Indian States. The Act cannot make such a provision, as no Parliamentary Act can legislate for the States in a domestic matter. But this does not mean that the States will not trust their subjects and send non-official gentlemen to legislatures. In my view they should adopt this policy.

The population of the United States of America—the largest Federal Government—is one-third of that of India. There is no parallel in the world to the proposed Indian Federation which will have a large population and in which the Government will have such a wide range of functions and powers.

Two great tasks confront the autonomous provinces and the Indian States in the near future. The first is the raising of the standard of living of the large masses of agricultural population of this country. You cannot have an up to date political constitution on an economic basis which is so inadequate that it reminds you of the Middle Ages. If the superstructure that we are going to build is to endure, steady efforts will have to be made by all the Governments concerned to remove this serious evil. The second task is that of evolving a conception of common citizenship, the welding together of a population in which there are so many cleavages and to ensure that these cleavages are not reflected in the federal legislatures, services, etc. This calls for the qualities of the highest statesmanship in the

leaders and the co-operation of all the communities and interests in this great country for the common good of India. It is only by such co-operation that the success of the new constitution can be ensured.

AT THE ANNUAL DAY OF THE NATIONAL GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL, MYLAPORE, MADRAS, 8-4-38.

I last saw the institution more than twelve years ago and am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating the committee and the staff on the very gratifying progress that has been made in every direction. As the Principal has reminded us in her report, the function of a school is not merely to prepare students for examinations, but to give them a varied training which would fit them for the duties of life.

If the school wants any ideal for its education, we need only recall to our minds the ideal which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar represents himself—the happy combination of the best in our traditional culture and in the progressive culture associated with the West. In the report sent to me it is said that “efforts were made to teach the fundamentals of our religion to the girls” and that such a teaching was imparted without the slightest reference to the sectarian differences that unfortunately mar our relations to day.” Nothing can be more important than this kind of liberal education, for it is only by insistence on the essentials of religion dissociated from forms and dogmas, that we shall lay the foundation for true culture.

To me nothing is more valuable in the present conditions of India than higher education for women. The higher the education, the better. We men have contributed very little to the public life of India in fields other than political. We, somehow, seem to be completely absorbed in the political controversies of the hour and have neglected

the very grave social and other problems that have to be solved before we can build up modern India. I feel confident that Indian womanhood can solve these social problems much more successfully than men have been able to do. The discords in our communal relations can be harmonised only when the educated women of India take their rightful place in public life.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer has asked me what my experience is with regard to two questions that are being discussed at present—the Wardha scheme and the compulsory teaching of Hindi. We in Baroda are now engaged in studying the schemes. There is much ferment in India in regard to educational matters. But of one thing I am certain that the authors of these schemes will certainly consult public opinion and take every care to have public opinion on their side before they make drastic changes. Education is a problem in which the co-operation of the public is essential for successful effort as it involves the whole life of society.

In Baroda, it was thirty years ago that His Highness the Maharaja made primary education compulsory. The experiment has been most successful. The percentage of literacy among women is as high as the percentage of the literacy among men. The percentage of literacy among the depressed classes and among Muslims, is nearly as high as the percentage among the higher classes. This has bridged the gulf between class and class and made good relations easier. I hope that one of the results of the new constitution will be a universal system of elementary education for boys and girls suited to the needs of the country. When we are aiming at a political constitution modern in nature, we must remember that we must build it on universal mass literacy. There is no greater danger to a democratic constitution than widespread illiteracy and ignorance. On a system of universal primary education we in Baroda have built up a fairly widespread system of secondary education which again has had a most gratifying effect on society. Many cultured women, educated in our secondary schools and the college, are playing their part in the life of Baroda. That the Government of Baroda have been able to enact social legislation in advance of the rest of India is due, to a large extent, to their influence.

Lastly, I trust that the enlightened public of Madras will respond to the appeal that has been made for the building fund of the school.

AT THE ANT YA JA CONFERENCE, BARODA, 11-1-39.

It is a great pleasure to me to open this conference.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb as you all know has taken for over a half century and continues to take the keenest interest in the betterment of the condition of the classes which are usually called "depressed" in Hindu society, and the abolition of the evil of untouchability. In this field he was the earliest of practical workers and his interest has only increased as years have advanced.

In one of his earliest speeches on caste system we find the following words:—

"It robs us of our humanity by insisting on the degradation of some of our fellowmen who are separated from us by no more than the accident of birth. It prevents the noble and charitable impulses which have done so much for the improvement and mutual benefit of European society."

Then again, about the same time he referred to the evil of untouchability in these words:—

"We have heard eloquent speeches on the question of untouchability. Now what is that question?—Untouchability may have a justification on the grounds of superstition or religion from a Hindu's point of view but from the view point of humanity it has no justification. In no other country in the world is there such an institution as a depressed class.

"The absence of such prejudices and superstitions has enabled other communities to occupy a much higher position materially,

socially and politically than the Hindus. This problem is one of national importance...If we want to rise as a nation we must all espouse the cause of the depressed classes and raise their status, socially and politically."

What His Highness said in his message to the people on the auspicious occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of his accession to the Gadi is still fresh in the minds of all of us. "Of untouchability it is difficult to speak with restraint. It is repugnant to our common humanity that those who should be regarded as our brothers and sisters are branded with this unnatural stigma. In my eyes and in the eyes of my Government there is no difference between man and man. Moral decay is the inevitable fate of those higher classes who deprive millions of their fellow creatures of all self-respect and all hope of betterment."

I shall ask everyone here to ponder over these weighty pronouncements of one whose life has been dedicated to working for the greatness of India as a whole and not only for the State.

You will gather from the above extracts what His Highness' deepest convictions are on untouchability. What he has done for the removal of this canker from our society and for the uplift of those people whom this superstition has kept in bondage for centuries is well known. I understand that a pamphlet is being circulated at this meeting which contains a brief resumé of these measures and I shall not repeat what is said therein. They are evidence, if evidence be needed, of the spirit of humanity that has actuated His Highness the Maharaja all his life.

To those who are interested in the future of India, the most hopeful sign is the general awakening in the country on this evil. A chain can be only as strong as the weakest of its links and a nation can only be as strong as the weakest of the sections that constitute it. If, therefore, we want to achieve any progress, it is our duty, indeed our self-interest, to raise to a higher level the millions of our fellow subjects whose lot in life is not so fortunate as ours. As I said, public conscience has awakened to the need for this, and I hope in the

coming years more constructive work will be done in this field than in the past.

I have much pleasure in declaring this conference open.

AT THE CONDOLENCE MEETING HELD TO MOURN THE DEATH OF H. H. LATE SIR SAYAJI RAO, 11-2-39.

We have met here to mourn for a great man who has gone from us. We all loved him as a man of great personal charm and most kindly disposition, and as a Ruler whose qualities made him one of the outstanding figures of our times. Like him we are proud of modern Baroda, prosperous and progressive. What Baroda is today, he made it through a lifetime's devotion to duty. Throughout the long years, he has preached that service is one of the highest ideals of humanity. And his whole life was service: service to Baroda, to India and to mankind.

In one of the last speeches of his life, he said that he had been thinking what account he could render of his stewardship. Let me read his conclusion: "The welfare of my subjects has ever been my consideration, and I rejoice that I have been able to give them peace and ordered government, and to lessen their social evils and economic troubles. Every passing year confirms my belief that education for the humblest member of society is the only sure foundation on which to build. Every effort has been worth while, and, in the fulness of time I hope and pray that the policy I have initiated and steadfastly pursued may be crowned with success."

Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao gave freely of all that was in him, working relentlessly, carefully preserving the best that he found in Indian life and culture, but searching insistently in the West for those things which he considered would serve the progress of his motherland.

We need no reminder of his work in Baroda. We see it all over the State and we see the result of it in the hearts of his people. It was only four days ago that we saw the large multitudes of people paying their tribute of love and reverence to their departed Ruler and the impression of what we saw, the deep affection and respect, will never be erased from our minds.

If I am asked what traits in him impressed me most I would mention two.

The first was his hatred of wrong; he was a resolute opponent of prejudice, intolerance and abuses of every kind. He fought all his life against customs based on injustice and

"Wherever wrong done,
To the humblest and weakest 'neath the beholding Sun."

His speeches on subjects like the caste system, untouchability and other evils show how deeply he felt on them. He had in him the fire of the earnest reformer and it was due to this urge in him that he devoted many years of his life to social legislation calculated to remove these evils. Only three weeks before his fatal illness, he asked that the position of women under Hindu law should be again subjected to a comprehensive examination so that if ameliorative measures were needed over and above those already taken, they might be introduced. Never did his interest or determination flag for one moment.

The second is that he was above all things a great nationalist. He was an Indian first and a Ruler afterwards. He was proud of India and sought for her a freedom to work out her destiny as a great nation. But no one saw the failings more clearly, the dangers and setbacks that lay in disunity whether communal, religious, racial or provincial. Incessantly he urged the need to eradicate intolerance and suspicion, working always for brotherhood and co-operation. To him communalism and provincialism were among the deadly sins and all his life he thought and spoke in terms of India as a whole. To the last he was a firm believer in India's high destiny and all his life he worked for furthering it.

We are gathered to day to mourn the passing of a friend and to praise a famous man. But let us not mourn him too much. Such men do not die: they live for ever. The old Sanskrit adage says "Great is the distance between the person and his qualities: the first is destroyed in a moment, while the second abides until the end of the cycles." I am sure that he would rather have us cherish his memory by working with redoubled energy in the pursuit of his ideal. Last year, Maharaja Sayaji Rao commended to us above all things, service to humanity, brotherhood to all, education for the humblest, and determined progress in every individual and corporate activity. Let our determination to work for those ideals gather a strength from our sorrow. In achievement we shall build an imperishable monument to his memory.

I think we can safely anticipate the verdict of history on the great Ruler who has left us. There will always be a niche in the temple of fame to the maker of modern Baroda, to the man who was a pioneer in so many fields that marked India's national awakening.

Our thoughts turn naturally this evening to those near and dear to him whom he has left behind. Her Highness the Maharani Chinnabai Saheb was his companion for 52 years and shared his joys and triumphs and sorrows. We sympathise with her in her great sorrow. We beg also to offer our condolences to the young Maharaja who is deprived all too soon of the guidance of one of India's wisest men, to Her Highness the Maharani of Cooch-Bihar and to Maharaj-kumar Dhairyashilrao and the other members of the family. It must be a consolation to all of them that their sorrow is shared by millions of friends and admirers in India and elsewhere.

AT THE SHREE HEM SARASWAT SATRA, PATAN, 9-4-39.

As the Hon'ble Mr. Munshi has said, the connection of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad with H. H. the Gaekwad is indeed of very long standing. H. H. the late Maharaja Sayajirao took a deep interest in all cultural movements. Many of you will recollect how he invited a session of the Parishad to Baroda and how he gave concrete shape to one of the main objects of the Parishad by setting apart a sum of rupees two lakhs for publishing books in Gujarati. This interest is inherited by H. H. the present Maharaja. He was anxious to come here in person and participate in these functions: but could not do so owing to pressure of engagements elsewhere.

I consider it a privilege to come here and say a few words to you. My knowledge of the Gujarati language and its literature is very limited. But, I have devoted attention to the history of Gujarat and to its art, especially painting, and I have also read with much profit Mr. Munshi's "Gujarat and its literature." In these studies, one point has been strongly borne in on me. It is the unity underlying the cultures in different parts of India. These cultures have fundamental characteristics which are identical; and in the course of their history have been acted upon by the same influences and responded to them in similar ways.

Under the influence of Hindu religion, India early evolved a distinctive civilization among the best known in the world. How powerful Hinduism is as a binding factor is seen even today. For instance, one sees thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India worshipping God in the same way in Benares and Rameshwaram and with prayers that have been said for over two thousand years. Later, other powerful influences came and today India has a culture which is the joint creation and joint possession of all the varied elements that constitute its population—Hindu and Muslim, Parsi and Christian.

This, of course, does not mean that the local cultures have no value. Far from it. The local cultures, full of life and vigour, add richness and variety to India's life. But, we must remember at all times how all of them have a common root and a fundamental unity.

With these general remarks, perhaps I may address a few observations to the lovers of the culture of Gujarat who have assembled here today. Dr. Bhattacharya has recently published a list of the old manuscripts preserved in the collections in Patan. That list reveals the existence of remarkable treasures of knowledge, the publication of which will enrich our cultural heritage. I hope that efforts will be made to make these available to the larger world. The part played by the Baroda Government in this is seen in the publications in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. But work of this kind requires co-operation from the enlightened public. The Gujarati Sahitya Parishad will render a most valuable service to the cause of Indian culture if it will give an impetus to this movement and also co-ordinate the activities of all bodies engaged in the field. May I conclude my somewhat discursive remarks by reminding you of a great truth? "In the long run what any society is to become will depend on what it believes or disbelieves, about the eternal things."

I would once again like to express my sincere pleasure at being connected with the historic occasion which has brought us together here. It is in the fitness of things that this occasion is being commemorated by a building which will house the extremely valuable manuscripts which are the heritage of the culture of Gujarat. Patan is of course the natural venue for such a conference. It was the old capital of Gujarat and the home of its greatest writers.

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH AT THE MAHARAJA PRATAPSIKHA
CORONATION GYMKHANA, BARODA, 25-4-39.

This institution had its beginning in the Polo Club attached to the Military department. It had no ground of its own and met on the Cavalry ground about three times in a week. It was felt that no real interest would be created by this spasmodic activity at a place so far away from the City where the general public of Baroda could not conveniently come. The club was therefore shifted to the present ground where much initial expense had to be incurred for levelling and efficient drainage arrangements.

In a short course of time it was realised that some other activity—other than polo—should be introduced and four tennis courts were constructed.

Baroda is already showing great progress in the development of physical education. When His late Highness started the Sayaji Vihar Club about fifty years ago, it was the only institution where the citizens of Baroda could come in the evening for games and recreation. The demand for such clubs is now daily increasing. There are already two such clubs in the Baroda cantonment area, and four in the City; and all of them are full and crowded. This is certainly a healthy growth.

The present gymkhana is to be called henceforth "The Maharaja Pratapsinha Coronation Gymkhana." The present Maharaja was its founder as Yuvaraj, and its growth from humble beginnings is due entirely to the interest he has always taken and continues to take in it. It is therefore a source of gratification to us that we have been permitted to associate his name with the institution. We also consider ourselves particularly fortunate that Your Highness has graciously consented to lay the foundation of this Gymkhana. Your Highness is so well known as a patron of sports, and has established gymkhanas and in other ways given a great impetus to physical education and healthy recreation throughout your State. Let me assure Your Highness that we deeply appreciate your kindness in agreeing to perform this function and are most grateful to you for it.

The Gymkhana has a spacious ground where polo, hockey, football and cricket can be played. It has already got as mentioned above four tennis courts and a special feature namely a vertical wall for tennis practice. In the proposed pavilion there will be facilities for indoor games usually attached to such gymkhanas. The site of the Gymkhana is convenient, being though not actually in the city, not very far from it. It has a further advantage, and one which is important in a place like Baroda—that it can command its own water supply from a large well, and it is hoped in the near future to open a swimming pool.

I, now, request Your Highness to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation of the Maharaja Pratapsinha Coronation Gymkhana.

REQUESTING H. E. LADY LINLITHGOW TO LAY THE
FOUNDATION STONE OF THE TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM,
BARODA, 16-1-40.

It is a great honour and privilege to me to request Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow to lay the foundation stone of the Tuberculosis Sanatorium for the State.

It is in the fitness of things that we should request Her Excellency to perform this ceremony. We all remember how about three years ago Her Excellency began her campaign against tuberculosis by an appeal to the whole of India for co-operation and financial support for a comprehensive scheme for the prevention and control of that terrible disease. Her appeal marked by deep sincerity and enthusiasm met with immediate response; and if today all over India projects for sanatoria and clinics and for educative propaganda are being actively considered, this is due to Her Excellency's initiative and unremitting

and devoted work. The response in the State was at once generous and warm hearted. His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad led with a donation of two lakhs of rupees, and this was supplemented by contributions from all parts of the State amounting to nearly Rs. 21,000. The response from the people would have been larger if it was not for the fact that the time of the appeal coincided with a period of economic distress amongst the agricultural and commercial classes, and I am confident that, as our movement develops, it will receive the support of the people of the State in an ever-increasing measure. I may mention that, in the last two weeks we have received 34 donations for cottages and wards to the extent of over 90 thousand rupees.

Facilities exist in the State for the treatment of tuberculosis. In the State General Hospital, indoor and outdoor arrangements are specially provided for patients, and bacteriological examination of sputa is made without charging fees. There is also a clinic in the heart of the city where outdoor treatment is given and educative propaganda is carried on. The district hospitals contain provision similar to that at the State General Hospital though on a smaller scale. The present arrangements also include research in the nutritional value of diets of people of different classes. A special officer is now engaged on this important investigation.

Thanks to the campaign organised by Her Excellency, we now look forward to a large extension of our work. Out of the collections made in the State, a sum of Rs. 2,11,000 has now been refunded for meeting the expenditure on local schemes. Our first scheme is that of this sanatorium. This extensive site—about 27 acres—has been selected for it as being the most salubrious in the neighbourhood of the city. The area is full of shady trees which protect it from driving winds and also keep it cooler than other parts of the city, and it possesses an adequate natural water supply. The buildings at present contemplated for the sanatorium consist of a central administrative block with a pathological laboratory, an X-ray room, and an operation theatre. There will be besides two general private wards—one for men and another for women patients—and also single and double room

cottages. An open air pavilion and avenues and sheltered walks will be among the further amenities provided. The site and the plans have been duly approved by Dr. Frimodt-Moller, the Medical Commissioner of the Tuberculosis Association of India to whom we are indebted for valuable suggestions. The sanatorium will be the centre round which efforts in all parts of the State to deal with the disease will be organised and co-ordinated. We hope also in the near future to develop in every important place within the State a clinic through which not only will treatment be given to those who suffer but also advice regarding preventive methods to check the spread of this terrible scourge.

A State Tuberculosis association has just been registered which will make every effort to carry out the programme I have outlined above : and we have the assurance of His Highness the Maharaja that this association can always count on his sympathy.

I do not think any further remarks are needed from me to explain our aims. On behalf of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government, I now request Your Excellency to lay the foundation stone of the proposed Tuberculosis Sanatorium. We are most grateful to you for consenting to perform this ceremony : and, we are proud that your Excellency should thus initiate the important extension of activities we have planned for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis in the State.

AT THE DEHRA DUN PUBLIC SCHOOL, FOUNDERS' DAY
CELEBRATION, DEHRA DUN, 10-3-40.

My first words must be to thank Sir Jagdish Piasad and the governors for the honour they have done me in inviting me to take part in this function. I have been anxious for some time to visit this school in which is being tried one of the most promising experiments in the field of Indian education and it is a privilege to be permitted to combine the visit with the Founders' day celebrations.

Today, our thoughts naturally turn to the late Mr. S. R. Das, who conceived the idea of this institution and laid the foundation on which it has been built. Mr. Das was a man of broad outlook and wide sympathies, who combined in himself the best elements in the culture of India and of the West; and I know from personal talks how great his faith was in the value to India of the public school system adapted to Indian conditions. The school is also under a deep debt of obligation to those two distinguished public servants—Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Frank Noyce—for their devotion to its interests in the earlier years : and it is now fortunate in having another distinguished public servant, Sir Jagdish Prasad as chairman of the Board.

Mr. Foot has just read to us an account of the progress of the school in the last twelve months : and I am sure all of us would like to offer to him and to his colleagues our sincerest congratulations on the many-sided activities carried on in the institution. A gratifying feature is the development of the post-certificate classes and I am glad that a number of boys are sitting for the Indian Military and Royal Indian Navy examinations. The physical side of the school life has also made marked advance and there is an impressive record of out-of-door school activities. All this is a part of a scheme planned with care and insight for training the students—I quote Mr. Foot—"in these three essentials, character, intellect and physique."

It is my privilege to address a few words to the boys. Naturally today, all of us are thinking of the war. It is unnecessary to talk to you at any length of the grave moral issues involved in the struggle. You all know what these are. This is a war against

ruthless aggression—for the security and independence of small nations and in defence of “the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together.” This indeed is universally recognised in India : and all schools of thought, whatever differences there may be among them in regard to the problems relating to constitutional advance, have made clear in unmistakable terms their detestation of the totalitarian ideals that have led to the war. And there can be no doubt that ultimately the cause of right and justice will prevail.

The war will leave the world profoundly transformed and it is inevitable that there should be radical changes in the structure of society in India : and every one of us in his own sphere will be called upon to take his share in the task of reconstruction that lies ahead. We should ask ourselves,—On what ideals and fundamental principles should this reconstruction be based ? The answer, to my mind, can be only this. It should be based on those ideals of freedom and justice, of tolerance and mutual understanding and sympathy, of settlement of questions by discussion and in a spirit of compromise that we have learnt to value so highly in all these years. It is only thus that civilisation, as you know it, can be saved. In regard to our own country, I would like to emphasise one most vital point. The greatest gain to India from the British connection has been that, under it, India has achieved a sense of unity which did not exist before. As a great Indian publicist wrote recently :—“Broadly speaking, British rule in this country had answered the much-felt want of a power which would control the fissiparous tendencies of religion, language, sect, caste and province and establish a unity which would give the country the strength to discharge her mission to the world. In other words, the polity which India needs is one which would exert a steady and imperceptible pressure on all divisions so as to mould them into an organic whole.” We should always have this lesson clearly impressed on our minds and each one of us in his own way should work assiduously for strengthening this unity.

This brings me to a connected subject. The boys in this school come from all parts of India and belong to different classes and communities. And, all of them work together for a common aim and

understand and respect one another, without any thought of divergent interests. It is your duty—and you owe it to this school and to India—to see that this same spirit actuates you and all those whom you can influence in the wider world which you will soon be called upon to enter. We hear and read so much of the communal problem. What should be our attitude in regard to it? I shall illustrate what I have to say by an example taken from one field of life—Art. We are all equally proud of the Ajanta Caves, the temples of South India, the great Mughal monuments. They add a richness and variety to our cultural heritage which all of us prize. Their diversity of genius heightens our sense of enjoyment. I plead that this attitude should be carried into all spheres of life. The races and communities that inhabit India have characteristics all of which are equally needed in the service of the country. We supplement one another: we do not compete with one another. I earnestly implore you, all your life, to fight against the cleavages, provincial and communal, that do India so much harm and to work by example and precept for unity and good will and mutual understanding. There is no future for India unless we achieve a synthesis of varieties of race and culture.

Your headmaster has often reminded you that “the men who leave the school must be those who are going to lead the nation in all departments of life.” Now, leadership is a moral quality: and at the root of it is the passion for social service. I advise you to set apart a definite portion of your time for social uplift, for helping the millions of our countrymen who have not received your advantages and making their lives fuller and more worth living. There are endless opportunities for this. Speaking many years ago the late Mr. Gokhale said “There is work enough for the most enthusiastic lover of his country. On every side whichever way we turn only one sight meets the eye, that of work to be done: and only one cry is heard that there are but few faithful workers.” These words are truer now than ever before. There are the age-long evils in our society. Untouchability is the greatest of them. There are then the problems relating to the position of women—early marriage, unequal laws of property and so on. There is also the enormous field comprised in the term rural re-construction—mass education and the co-operative movement, to mention only two

examples. Throw yourself, heart and soul, into one or other of these humanitarian activities. Have "as many objects of compassion" as possible and your own life will be the fuller for it.

Let me sum up in a few sentences what I have been saying to you. While in the school, you live in contact with the noblest thoughts enshrined in the English and our own literatures and every day high ideals are placed before you. Make every effort to carry out these ideals in your lives after you leave the school. Beware of that most insidious of evils—

" The hardening of the heart that brings
Irreverence for the dream of youth. "

In conclusion, I wish all of you a delightful school life to which you will look back with pride and affection: and, after you leave school, the widest opportunities for the service of our motherland.

REMARKS AT THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE BANKING UNION FOR SINOR AND KARJAN TALUKAS, 9-5-40.

I now propose to say a few words on general matters. I speak as one of you—as one who believes in a great future for Baroda and who yields to none in his hopes for India. As you all know, I speak only when it becomes a pressing duty to do so.

We are on the eve of momentous changes in our State. Baroda has developed for many decades on lines of its own and evolved an individuality and possesses a record of achievement of which we are all justly proud. The policy of His Highness the Maharaja has been set out clearly,—it is the close association of the people with the Government. To give effect to this he has promulgated a constitution based on the complete identity of the interests of the Ruler and the

ruled and among all sections of the population. In this as in other matters, we should develop forms and institutions suited to our own conditions. I am not one of those who think that democracy is not suitable to India. Far from it. But democracy has many forms. The system of "responsible government" introduced in British Indian provinces is only one of them. There is room here for the governments in India by experiment to evolve systems which serve their special needs, while fully giving effect to the principle of close association. This is the task to which all of us should devote ourselves with open minds. I do not think that, in this task, the coming into our politics, directly or indirectly, of political or communal organisations from British India is likely to be helpful. On the other hand, it adds to our complications and brings new difficulties to us and to them. Experience here as well as elsewhere has shown this. There is another point I would like to emphasise. In our Dhara Sabha, we have never attempted to form 'blocks'. Officials are free to vote as they like. No mandate is given to them. Similarly, non-official members have never had party or communal labels but have always formed and expressed views independently on the merits of individual issues. This feature of our public life is most valuable and I hope that it will be preserved unimpaired.

The great provinces of British India have their own problems. There the working of "responsible government" has revealed strains and stresses. Communal relations have become most acute. The task of adapting the system of responsible government to conditions in provinces so as to achieve communal harmony is a challenge to the statesmanship of leaders of all schools of thought.

Provinces and States, developing on different lines, can co-operate with mutual advantage for many purposes and in many fields of administrative activity. We have an impressive record of joint action with the Bombay Government for many years. With the Congress Government in Bombay we co-operated most willingly and they with us in the same spirit. If my memory serves me right, in only one matter Baroda could not agree with them, namely in the introduction of sales' taxes on cloth; this did not however affect our relations. I

think also that States like Mysore, Travancore and Cochin have the same experience of co-operation with the adjoining presidency.

I venture to express the hope that a Central Government will soon be set up in India in which Provinces and States will be partners and all interests will find adequate protection. It is only in this way that India can attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible date.

The war is now entering on a new phase. India detests the aggressive policies of the Nazi Government and is whole-heartedly in favour of the Allies. About the universality of this feeling there can be no doubt. The conclusion is inescapable that all parties in India should co-operate with Britain in the active prosecution of the war; this indeed is necessary in India's interests

AT DR. S. M. ALI'S LECTURES ON HINDU MUSLIM UNITY,

29-9-40.

We are obliged to Dr. Ali for the interesting speech he has delivered this evening. He has done well in eschewing present day politics in his treatment of this subject, and bringing to bear on it a broad historical point of view. This is the most useful course to follow in regard to the problem of communal unity.

Viewing the question in its historical perspective we find that one fact has always been noticeable in our history, that is the infinite capacity of our race for toleration, for adjusting itself to new ideas and new institutions—its hospitality to new comers and their innovations. In the period to which I am referring, many peoples came to India through the old gateways, set up kingdoms and established themselves on the land. They then became part of the land and its culture: in their turn they stamped their culture on the people of this

country. It was a process of give and take from which both benefited and both were soon welded into unity. This is illustrated by the relations in Hinduism established with the protestant movements embodied in Buddhism, Jainism, etc. The mission of our race is thus to effect a synthesis of races, and cultures and religions.

When Muslims came to this country and settled down in the land the two cultures influenced each other profoundly. There are many historic names we can recall of those who worked for understanding between those cultures. Akbar, Dara Shikoh, and others have been mentioned. On the Hindu side also there are names equally well known. In recent decades owing to causes to which I shall not refer, Hindu Muslim relations have become difficult.

It is a remarkable fact that the worsening of Hindu Muslim relations has always been co-existent with the worsening of inter-provincial relations. The evil of provincialism is at least as serious as the problem of communalism. These two problems of communal discord and the provincial discords have always been found to be co-existent, and the reason for it, as I said before, is that we have lost the real spirit of our culture, its living principle—namely tolerance.

The question that faces us, is, how to continue the movement for fusion. You all know the poem by Tennyson "Akbar's Dream" wherein Akbar dreams of a house of God that was 'neither church, nor pagoda nor mosque' but a place where Love and Truth and Justice reigned supreme. That is the sort of ideal, a modern equivalent of the ideal, for which all of us should strive. This can be brought about by realisation of the fact that all of us, Hindus and Muslims have common patriotism, that we are citizens of India first and last. The task that faces us is the evolution of a common patriotism and a sense of common citizenship. This cannot be achieved unless we study and understand with sympathy each other's cultures and the common triumph in the fields of literature and art. Thus only can we realise the underlying unity of our common civilisation.

In this task colleges can play a very useful part. It is true as Dr. Ali has said that the University has not provided facilities of an

approach to this question, but that is no reason why colleges should not interest themselves in it.

I suggest that research students of this college should join together and have a sort of a seminar in which every student would study cultures other than his own and understand and respect them. This will prove to be the beginning of a great movement. We are anxious about the future of our country. Every Indian—Hindu or Muslim—wishes that his country should play a great part and that it should have a noble mission which it should discharge nobly.

It is my firm opinion that this country of ours cannot attain that proud position, cannot rise to its full stature unless we find a solution for the problems of communal and other cleavages.

I would suggest that the students of this college should see whether they cannot begin studies of the sort I have indicated. I strongly deprecate the existence in the College of societies for sections of students, of communal associations. It should be made a strict rule that no society shall be allowed to be formed in this college or in any high school, the membership of which is restricted. Sectional and communal societies must be actively discouraged. When we have done this, we shall feel that we have done something to improve communal relations. It should be our great mission to effect a synthesis of races, religions and cultures.

I thank Dr. Ali for his interesting lecture and for the historical retrospect of the problem of communal relations which he has presented.

AT THE MEETING IN MEMORY OF LATE
DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE, 8-8-41.

We have all met here to-day to pay our tribute of respect to the greatest of India's sons, one who raised India's prestige all over the world, and who made India and her ideals understood and respect everywhere.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was a many sided personality. First we know him as a great thinker—one of the world's most profound thinkers. In one of his great books "Sadhana" he has told us how in his youth he was nurtured on the thoughts contained in the Upanishads. These thoughts were always with him and wherever he went, whether to China or the U. S. A., he spoke on the great lessons of Indian Philosophy. For years past, he had felt keenly the drift of the world to war and spoken and written extensively on what the world needs and what should be the ideals on which the world should be reconstructed. Secondly, Dr. Tagore is known as one of the world's great poets. His poetry has a universal appeal. His thoughts have permanent basis in life, and his poetry has become part of the world's heritage.

The service Dr. Tagore rendered to the Indian Renaissance has been invaluable. He was at the helm of the cultural revival in this country and when the history of modern India is written we shall realise what debt we owe to Rabindranath Tagore. His great institution, the Shantiniketan, embodies the ideals for which he worked all his life. This institution shows his catholicity. All knowledge was his province. Here he worked for the revival of culture in its widest sense. He was not only a great poet, but also a musician and a painter. Some years ago, I happened to be in Calcutta when the students from Vishwabharati acted plays. Each day for several hours Dr. Tagore himself played on the violin for the dances, and supervised the acting. This shows what a great part this institution filled in his life and how much he loved it.

It is fitting that we should honour his memory to-day and join in the tributes paid all over India to his services to the country which he loved so passionately.

THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS, DELHI, 13-11-41.

We meet for the first time to-day since our chairman Sir Akbar Hydari, was appointed a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which involved his resignation of the chairmanship of our Committee. I feel certain that all of us will desire to place on record the gratitude of the Ministers' Committee for the wise, far-sighted and patriotic statesmanship with which he conducted its deliberations, as first chairman, and that you will like me to convey to him, on behalf of the Committee, our sincerest congratulations and best wishes on his new appointment.

It is unnecessary for me to allude to the services of Sir Akbar Hydari to the cause of Indian States. As chairman of the Informal Committee of Ministers, more popularly known as the Hydari Committee, which was the forerunner of our present body, Sir Akbar brought to bear on important problems relating to the States a breadth of vision, an unrivalled grasp of administrative problems and a unique gift of understanding which have been of the utmost value to the States. It was a tribute to the great work he did in that capacity that when this Committee was formally constituted he was unanimously elected its first chairman.

I have been closely associated with Sir Akbar in the work he did at the Round Table Conference and in important conferences and consultations and should like here to add my own personal tribute to his invaluable services. His vision of the new order in India transcended the frontiers of the States and he firmly believed, as we do, that the Indian States can play a great part in the future of this country and of the Commonwealth. His work as chairman of the Committee and in other capacities was actuated by this faith.

By his appointment to the Governor-General's Executive Council, we have been deprived of his wise guidance and the best tribute that we can pay him is to continue to work with the same zeal and earnestness as he did in the cause of the States and maintain unimpaired the tradition that he did so much to build up in the discussions and work of this Committee.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS FROM THE CHAIR AT THE
LECTURE OF DR. SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN,
BARODA, 17-11-41.

It is not necessary for me to introduce Sir S. Radhakrishnan. We had the privilege of welcoming him in Baroda in the year 1932. But a special significance attaches to his visit to us to-day. He has come here to-day as the Shree Sayajirao Lecturer in the University of Benares. You will all remember that early this year His Highness the present Maharaja Saheb offered an endowment to the University of Benares of a Professorship in the name of the late His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad. I am sure you will all remember the terms in which this endowment was offered by H. H. the Maharaja. With your permission I quote them :

" The donor believes, with his illustrious predecessor that there is a distinct type of thought and life in India which has been enduring through the centuries and which is India's greatest contribution to the world; in it, the Hindu and the Moslem, the Christian and the Parsi find common ground. It will be the main function of the Professor and the Fellows to promote the cultural unity of India by means of scholarly publications and lectures. "

No better gentleman could have been entrusted with the task of promoting the cultural unity of India than Sir Radhakrishnan. Sir Radhakrishnan is the greatest interpreter of Indian culture to the world, particularly to the Western world, and it is gratifying to us that his name is associated with the endowment created to commemorate the long reign of that illustrious Ruler, the late H. H. Sayajirao Gaekwad.

The only cure for the conditions in which the world finds herself to-day is that man should be enabled to rediscover spiritual values and establish a balance which has been shaken. I am sure that the two lectures to which we are going to listen will enable the world to realise what a great contribution Indian culture can make to the future not only of India but of the world. I now request Sir Radhakrishnan to commence his speech.

AT A LECTURE BY MADAM SOPHIA WADIA, 23-12-41.

We are grateful to Madam Sophia ; she has spoken eloquently on the great truths of the Theosophical movement established by Madam Blavatsky.

Many of us now do not remember the services the Theosophical movement has rendered to India. Early in the 19th century the movement drew attention to the rich treasures in our inheritance—the fundamental truths of Hinduism, Buddhism etc. which we had forgotten in the dark ages of India. Then, the movement emphasised that the essential truths of the great religions were the same and, in this way, was a powerful agent for peace and unity. These two services of the Theosophical movement should not be forgotten. It is because of these that many of the best minds were attracted towards Theosophy in the early years of the century.

We are at present living in the greatest crisis which the world has faced. All the resources of science are concentrated on an orgy of destruction without parallel in the history of mankind—destruction of things for the attainment and preservation of which we have struggled for many centuries. If a new world is to be reconstructed, we shall have to rediscover spiritual values and in this, lectures like Madam Wadia's are of great assistance to us.

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE, INDIAN
SCIENCE CONGRESS, BARODA, 2-1-42.

It is my privilege to accord a warm welcome to Mr. Wadia and the delegates to the Science Congress. We feel greatly honoured that the Congress is holding its annual session in our City.

It is with considerable hesitation that I venture to speak a few words to-day. I have no pretension to a knowledge of science nor have I anything original to say. But in these critical times a layman like myself may be forgiven for giving expression to his thoughts, however crude.

Writing in 1934, the great historian, the late Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, concluded his survey of Europe through the centuries on a note of pessimism. He said:—"Europe has now reached a point at which it would seem, as never so clearly in past history, that two alternative and contrasted destinies await her. She may travel down the road to a new war or, overcoming passion, prejudice and hysteria, work for a permanent organisation of peace. In either case, the human spirit is armed with material power. The developing miracle of science is at our disposal to use or abuse, to make or to mar. With science we may lay civilisation in ruins or enter into a period of plenty and well-being the like of which has never been experienced by mankind. The world's worst fears have also been realised. The insensate ambition and ruthless aggression of the Dictators have involved the world in a war in which all the resources of science are being employed in an orgy of destruction of men in the fighting line and of men, women and children among the civil population: of vast quantities of material of all kinds: of industrial and residential areas: of great works of public utility and of monuments and works of art—the like of which has not been witnessed in the worst periods of barbarism. The war budgets alone of countries run into astronomical figures; each one of them is sufficient to guarantee world peace. Nor is this all. There is a more tragic side to the picture. For many years, persistent propaganda is being carried on in the dictator countries to attack all accepted values in science, morals and religion, with the result that millions are

prepared to lay down their lives for false ideals. Science began to attain its best development—and real civilisation commenced—only when its truths could be proclaimed and taught without incurring persecution. For this right, many scientists have suffered martyrdom in past ages. At present, however, over a large part of the world, Truth cannot be published or taught if it runs counter to political or other theories. This gives us a measure of the relapse into the dark ages that has occurred under totalitarian regimes. When the war is won, the right of Truth to the first place in the lives of men will have to be fought for and vindicated in these countries and millions of men and women redeemed from an intolerable bondage of mind and soul.

Every one will agree that the scientist cannot be blamed for the application of the discoveries of science to war. But the world must be saved from this danger. The question of how this is to be done is agitating earnest minds: and thinkers, approaching it from different standpoints, have arrived at more or less identical conclusions. I shall give a few examples. In 1937, three young scientists calling themselves "professional psychologists" edited a book "Human affairs" in which the issues are stated thus:—"They (scientists) begin to see that the splendid scientific activity which characterises our age, the mastery of elemental and natural powers to which we have attained is leading us to a cataclysm whose horror we can only conjecture." After classifying sciences into two groups—purely physical sciences like chemistry, mechanics, and the human sciences like sociology, psychology, biology, which strive to understand all the processes involved in life, they add, "A short time ago, every intelligent citizen was loudly singing the praises of the physical sciences whose remarkable growth produced such wonders in matters of material production, transport, communication, and human comfort. To-day he bitterly complains that physical science has radically altered social life, revolutionized our outlook, called our old loyalties into question without offering any solution for the manifold social and personal problems which it generated." The authors then refer to the "peculiar disabilities" of the scientist, chief among them being "the microscopic vision which comes of peering into narrowly restricted fields of work." In their view the solution is not to call a halt to all scientific advance.

"Rather must we bend all our forces in a steadfast attempt to make equivalent progress in human affairs—look to human sciences for the solution of our social problems." A political thinker Mr. Lionel Curtis, dealing with the same issues from a different angle says:—"In the course of a few generations human beings have learned to control physical forces without acquiring a like measure of control over themselves and their relations to one another." He pleads therefore for social research, for the study of human relations which "must go beyond the frontiers of knowledge and enter the realms of wisdom" and which "misses its final purpose when it fails in the effort to think of life as a whole." Sir Radhakrishnan expresses the same sentiments when he says that the aim should be "to insist on the high mission of science and relate it organically to the central purpose of human life and society, to reconcile religious wisdom with scientific achievement." Acting on views like these, the British association for advancement of science has taken the step of founding a division for the Social and International relations of Science—to deal "with the effect of sciences on the well-being of the community and reciprocally the effects of social conditions upon advances in science." This example may perhaps be usefully followed in India.

The evil thus calls for not less science but more science—science in the broadest sense of the word, embracing the social sciences, those dealing with human relations—and also philosophy—all working with a common aim and a sense of unity and viewing life as a whole. Only thus can civilisation be reshaped so as to enable human personality to reach the fullest development of which it is capable.

I now come to our own country. India is fortunate in that it possesses bands of devoted scientists, who are making an outstanding contribution to the well-being of its people, often under enormously difficult conditions and at considerable self-sacrifice. The most serious problem facing us is that of mass poverty. Many millions of the people are living among us at the lowest level of economic efficiency in the world excepting possibly in China. I shall not attempt to give you figures of per capita income in India. You all know the estimates. Take an elementary need—food. Dr. Ackroyd

has recently shown that a well-balanced diet for the vast majority of the people is possible only if twice as much can be spent on food as at present. Then there is clothing. Here again, enquiries lead to the same result—that at least twice the amount now spent should be expended to provide the minimum needs. The raising of the standard of living among this large population and the instilling into it of a desire to live better is a problem of the first magnitude. It calls for many lines of attack. Important among these is agricultural research. In this field, valuable work is being done under the auspices of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. But the finances of this body are exiguous and limit the scope of its usefulness. There can be no doubt that its sphere of work should be expanded by a much more generous allotment of funds. There is then the allied question of agricultural finance to which the Reserve Bank of India is devoting attention. Here, too, there is need for more detailed research. There, again, are the hosts of social problems connected with the subject each one of which needs study, the results of which will be useful to those whose task is to administer the ever widening social service activities organised in Provinces and States.

The war has given a stimulus to industries and His Excellency Lord Linlithgow has given us an impressive account of the efforts made in India to replace foreign imports. Here again, the Government of India have organised research on a very broad basis and this will be of the greatest service to the country even after the war is over. Scientists all over the country are giving invaluable assistance in this development and India has every reason to be grateful to them.

We have in India a society constituting over a sixth of the human race and possessing ancient civilisations and inherited traditions and ways of life often embedded in religious beliefs which is attempting the great task of evolving a new order under the impact of modern ideas, preserving at the same time the best elements in its culture. This adjustment is giving rise, as is inevitable, to sociological and other problems of great complexity. These, however, intractable they may at first sight appear, will yield to objective studies conducted in a spirit of detachment. There is here a vast

field of research specially for the student of social sciences- the sciences that deal with humanity—and I trust a carefully planned organisation will be brought into existence for this purpose.

I have spoken at greater length than I originally intended and once again ask for your forbearance.

This is the first time the Science Congress meet in a city of the size of Baroda and we request you to excuse shortcomings in the arrangements we have been able to make for your stay here.

Let me conclude with our best wishes for a successful session of the Congress and to each one of the delegates a New Year full of increased opportunities of service.

WELCOMING THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE STATISTICAL CONFERENCE, BARODA, 3-1-42.

It is my privilege to welcome you to Baroda for the fifth session of your Conference.

You are meeting in difficult times. Round about us the citadels of free thoughts and discussion have fallen one by one before the onslaught of the forces of barbarism. On scientists in the few countries where the individual's right to think in his own way is still prized, therefore, rests an added responsibility; they have to keep the force of free thought burning till the world returns to peace and sanity.

I am not a statistician and I feel the layman's diffidence in making remarks on a subject which has attained a high degree of perfection in theory and technique. However I have been, for years, concerned with matters in which masses of data have to be sifted and interpreted. The machinery of government, though it is not organised with an eye to the compilation of statistics, does in its normal operation

yield a variety of valuable information which is often statistically recorded. Thus, statistics of certain kinds have always been a necessary by-product of administrative activity. Some of them are collected and presented in statistical publications ; others lie scattered in reports, bulletins and notes from which the administrator draws his guidance.

Government are not however content with the mere turning out of by-products. They have actively undertaken investigations in the various aspects of the life and work of their peoples. Information carefully gathered and intelligently presented is a valuable aid to administration. We have in our State conducted a number of agricultural, industrial and general economic surveys and instituted a series of researches into crop production, plant breeding, marketing, and similar problems.

This development of statistical activity is in part the outcome of the growth of the science of statistics itself ; it has made available to us and more efficient instruments of analysis by which refractory data can be made to yield useful conclusions. But in part the change also reflects the increasingly positive role of governments. To-day there are few phases of our collective existence on which governmental activity does not impinge, and there are quite a number which are deliberately organised and promoted by it. This has in its turn created the need for wider and more accurate supply of basic information. In this process of building up a body of useful knowledge, the science of statistics is of great service.

There is, however, a limit to the extent to which governments can go. The needs of administration are their primary concern and these necessarily define the variety and volume of investigation they can undertake. Beyond this, is reached a stage at which Research Institutions, Universities and College can take up the thread. Free from immediate urgencies that press on governments, such bodies can elaborate and carry out enquiries of long term significance. Organisations like the Indian Central Cotton Committee, the Indian Jute Committee and the Indian Tea Association to name a few have done useful work—statistical and experimental—in relation to the crops with which they are concerned. Indeed agriculture in our country is

an extensive terrain which can be explored and mapped out by statisticians in collaboration with other scientists. We require greater accuracy in the collection of its basic facts and a wider use of scientific analysis in their interpretation. I am sure that your discussions and activities will continue to help and guide all those who are engaged in the task of investigation by constantly devising new methods and improving old ones as well as by diffusing a knowledge of those methods and making the people more statistically minded.

As problems of social life and administration have engaged my attention for a long time, I hope it will not be out of place for me to end on a personal note. I feel that, with the limited resources that we possess, there must be a certain amount of selection of the questions we can take up for investigation. Enquiries have to be restricted in the first instance to things that really matter. Besides, we should as far as possible, replace detached, isolated and individual essays by investigations which taken together form a complete whole. In making this remark I have in mind specifically the problem of our rural life. A large amount of valuable work has been done on separate aspects of it and I do not, for a moment, wish to minimise their importance. But I feel that these separate investigations will gain in practical effectiveness if they are inspired by a clearer perception of the essential unity of rural life. Agriculture and subsidiary industries, community life and questions of social relationship such as literacy, untouchability—these can be split up for separate study only when their organic relationship to one another is borne in mind. I have used this theme of rural reconstruction for the purpose of illustrating my point of view but I am sure that what I have said is true of other fields.

As I have already remarked, we have today in the science of statistics a powerful engine to help our judgment and appreciation of the facts of life. In interpreting them, the human factor should not be ignored. Behind the tables and graphs of statistics and its mathematical formulas are living men and women whose hopes and aspiration need sympathetic understanding.

I welcome you, once again, most heartily to this city of Baroda and wish you a successful session.

AT A LECTURE BY MR. VALVALKAR AT THE
VITTHAL KREEDA BHAVAN, 31-1-42.

It is not possible to comment on a lecture only a portion of which has been delivered. I would like however to stress the utility of such researches as those of Mr. Valvalkar. Our social institutions must undergo changes to adapt themselves to a rapidly changed environment. Demands for social legislation are insistent and lines of action cannot be decided on unless we know the fundamental basis on which our institutions rest. Our efforts will be harmful if they are not based upon an understanding of the spirit of the institutions. This is why these researches are of great value at the present juncture.

It is often said that Hindu society has always remained static and has not changed in response to changed environment. Our past history shows that this view is incorrect. Students of law will recall names of successive law-givers. When society was living and religion was living, social institutions adapted themselves to changes. Lawgivers embodied these changes in their codes. But during the middle ages our society became static and this process of adaption stopped. Now, under the impact of Western civilisation changes are inevitable and we should face the problem of effecting them on national lines.

There is controversy as to the agency through which social legislation should be carried out. Educated men in India are not agreed whether legislative bodies are the proper agencies for this task. This again is a subject which should be studied objectively.

AT CHINA DAY CELEBRATIONS, 7-3-42.

It is a matter of gratification that we are holding this meeting today to express our admiration of China's courageous struggle against the forces of ruthless aggression. The fact that such meetings are held today all over India possesses a high moral value. The people of China and India together constitute about one-third of the world's population. The cultures of these two countries possess common features and the bonds between them are very close and intimate.

The visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek and Madam Chiang, who embody China's spirit of resistance, has brought the two countries still nearer to each other. Thousands of Indians and Chinese are now fighting together in a common cause—the cause of freedom.

All of you no doubt have read General Chiang's message to Indians when he left India for China—a message in which he has reminded us of the nature of the struggle in which India and China are engaged today. He said: "The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

"The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilisation of the world would suffer a set-back for at least 100 years and there would be no end to human sufferings."

We all know how China is facing the struggle on which it is engaged today. The Axis countries follow the same methods of

warfare. There has been no declaration of war by Japan on China. What is happening in China is an 'incident.' For over four years, the comparatively unarmed population of China has been subjected to highly mechanised warfare by Japan. The people have shown a heroic resistance on a national scale which has won the admiration of all mankind. When long stretches of China's coast were captured by the enemy, the people left the areas and established themselves in the interior. They made a new capital from which they are fighting the enemy with the greatest bravery. In China, it is not only the armed forces that fight, but all classes of people—men and women, boys and girls, and university men—all of them are in the struggle from day to day and hour to hour. University men are going into the country to educate the masses. Without books and buildings, they are carrying on their noble work, undeterred by difficulties. There never has been a greater example of self-sacrifice in the history of the world as we see in China today. As I said before, there is similarity in Axis methods. They seek to demoralise the spirit of the people. In the occupied areas in China, Japan has started thousands of opium dens to spread the deadly habit of smoking. Again as Madam Chiang said in her Delhi speech, young men are taken from China to Japan, and indoctrinated with hatred of all that China stands for. In this way, they seek to break down the spirit of China. But China remains undaunted. Modern warfare is highly mechanised. The dictator countries had made long preparations in advance. The democratic countries were not alive to the danger and neglected rearmament. It is therefore not surprising that the Axis powers should have gained initial victories. But one thing is certain, that ultimately the cause of freedom, equality and social justice will prevail. There can be no doubt about this. I expect every one with this confidence to do everything to see that the cause for which we stand today triumphs at the end. There should be no defeatism, no panic. We must have the supreme confidence that the cause of freedom, equality and justice *will* prevail.

Today all over India, we have shown our fellow-feeling for China. This is an impressive moral gesture. I have also no doubt

that you will subscribe liberally to the fund. It is a privilege to help such a cause. It is the sort of gift that purifies the giver.

ADDRESS TO THE STUDY CIRCLE, BARODA, 10-4-42.

I should like at the outset to say that His Highness' Government give their whole-hearted support to the British War Cabinet's proposals for the "creation of a new Indian union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect." They also accord a sincere welcome to Sir Stafford Cripps who is now in India on a mission fraught with momentous issues to the country and to the future world order. The declaration is the greatest landmark in the history of British connection with India. It is earnestly hoped that leaders of Indian opinion will accept the proposals and that it will be possible for H. E. the Viceroy to take steps for setting up a National Government at the centre and similar governments in the Provinces, so that a united India might make an even more notable contribution than in the past to the victory against the aggressors. Possibly also, in this common effort on a nation-wide scale, new bonds of sympathy and understanding will be created which will assist in the solution of peace time problems which have hitherto proved difficult.

I should like to dwell for a moment on the significance of the declaration. That a new Dominion is about to be created which will comprise nearly 400 million people is itself one of the most impressive facts in human history. But there is much more than that. All round us, we see free nations enslaved and their resources ruthlessly exploited in the interests of the Axis war machine. In the midst of so much that is dark, it is inspiring that an offer to India of the highest status attainable in the Commonwealth—the substance of

independence—should be made willingly by Britain and that the terms of it should be settled by mutual discussion and free negotiations in an atmosphere of good-will. This fills us with renewed faith in the ideals for which the Commonwealth stands.

A fear has been expressed in regard to the scheme that under it India might be divided into two or more unions. I personally do not think that representatives from all over the country working together for a great object, in a spirit of give and take, will fail to agree on the conditions necessary for the creation of a single union covering the whole of India. I feel I have grounds for my optimism. In the first place, there is the fundamental cultural unity of India. Through long ages, India has evolved a distinctive culture which is the joint creation and common heritage of all races and religions in it—Hindu and Muslim, Christian and Parsi. This is an integral part of our life. Secondly, there is the political unity steadily achieved in the last 150 years, which is Britain's priceless gift to us. In this period, we have evolved a sense of common citizenship which is one of the most powerful influences cementing our national life. Lastly, there are the economic links which bind all parts of the country inextricably together. It is not merely that we have a common railway system and single postal and telegraph and currency systems. Provinces and States have evolved economic organisations which supplement one another and are interdependent. The great agricultural provinces, for example, find markets for their surplus produce in other provinces. The industrial areas obtain their raw materials, their coal etc. from other parts of India. The banking system again is not limited by administrative boundaries. Such ties will not be lightly set aside. In the future, under a policy of intensive industrialisation, these links will become yet closer and their cumulative effect will be to make every one work for securing the acceptance of arrangements which will enable a single union to be established.

I spoke earlier on the ideals of the Commonwealth. As Lord Lothian said, "the essence of that system today is that the innumerable problems which arise within it, problems of race and colour and civilisation, of self-government and responsibility, must be settled by

free discussion and by compromise around a table and not by resort to violence or by the domination of one race over all the rest." We all look forward to the Indian union, established in this manner soon after hostilities cease, playing a great part in the Commonwealth and in the new world order which will emerge after the war.

It has always been the view of His Highness the Maharaja and of his Government, and they continue to hold it today, that Indian States should take their place in such a union and that they can play a most useful part in it. The adjustments needed to enable the States to adhere to such a union should not present serious difficulty. In this, we are not writing on a clean slate. During many years, treaties and engagements have been made with States in matters relating to defence and in matters of common concern like railways, posts and telegraphs, currency, the effectuation of the salt monopoly, abolition of transit duties, sea customs etc. Codes embodying rights and obligations have thus come into existence which have facilitated the adoption of all-India policies. The best course, speaking broadly, is to build the new relations on the basis of these arrangements which have been carefully evolved over decades. At the same time, it must be recognised that treaties and engagements have to be revised as and when the conditions under which they were negotiated undergo change and it is certainly possible to devise a satisfactory machinery for this purpose. Before leaving this subject, I should like to stress one point. This relates to internal reforms in States. Treaties have nothing to do with these. Among such reforms is the progressive democratisation of constitutions and the association of the people with the administration on the basis of the identity of interests between the Ruler and the people and among all sections of the population. Other matters coming under this head are the establishment of the rule of law, the securing of social justice and of adequate standards of living for the people and the development of social services on the scale demanded by modern conditions. There is nothing in treaties which prevents a State from taking effective action in these directions. No one has indeed emphasised the need for them more strongly than His Excellency Lord Linlithgow.

I have purposely made these remarks of mine quite general. I

hope they will be useful to you in the detailed studies you have undertaken.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE NATIONAL WAR FRONT DAY IN
NYAYA MANDIR HALL, BARODA, 1-7-1942.

Before we commence the work, I should like to convey to you a message from His Highness the Maharaja Saheb. His Highness is glad that we are inaugurating the National Defence movement and he hopes that it will spread all over the State and reach the remotest villages.

The main object of the movement is to sustain the morale of the people. Similar movements have been started all over India and our intention is to work in co-operation with the larger movement all over the country. All of you have heard the instructive broadcast of General Wavell. The most important thing in the war is the civilian morale. Now about this war, the moral issues are clear. It is waged for freedom. It is waged against the ruthless aggression of the Axis Powers and for freeing the enslaved nations. There may be ups and downs but there can be no doubt that the Allies will be victorious. The object of this movement is to inspire confidence in the people, to prevent the spread of rumours, correct false statements, and see that there is no panic. There are thousands of persons who want to know what they should do to assist, in however humble a way, in the prosecution of the war. We should tell them that everyone should see that as little strain as possible is placed on national services e. g. Railways. Everyone should see that travelling is reduced to a minimum so that rolling stock may be made available for war purposes, for carrying food grains and other essential services. Secondly, agriculturists can help by growing more food grains and bringing the

productive resources of the community to a maximum. Thirdly, those who are well-to-do should support the defence loans and contribute to the war funds. I have described some of the ways in which people can help. Those of us who can, should travel about and talk to the people in the villages on all these problems and explain what all can do to assist the war effort. I hope, gentlemen assembled here will assist us in this matter.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AT THE SAME FUNCTION.

I thank the speakers of the evening for their instructive speeches. It is not necessary for me to add anything to what they have said. I shall only repeat three fundamental facts on which I have laid stress. Firstly, there has never been any previous war in the history of the world in which so much had been at stake. We are fighting for everything that is valuable in our civilisation, for the moral elements that hold the world together. Secondly, there can be no doubt about our ultimate victory. The resources of the democratic Powers are so great that the Axis Powers can never defeat them. It is true that owing to secret preparations for so many years ahead, there have been initial victories for the Axis Powers, but there can be no doubt that the ultimate victory will be with the United Nations. Thirdly, we should realise the supreme importance of civilian morale. I shall quote a few examples. Russia is offering an epic resistance of which we are all proud and that resistance is due in a large measure to the morale of the people. Then, there is China. Even though large slices of territory and important sources of revenue are in Japanese hands, that brave nation has been carrying on a struggle for five or six years. When Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek and Madam Chiang Kai Shek visited India, they spoke of the untold sacrifices of the ordinary Chinese people. You also know the spirit in which the people in England faced the concentrated air raids of 1940. Everyone

in this country must feel similarly that the war is ours and secure in the confidence that victory will come, do his or her best to assist in the war front. It is with this view that the National War Front is being initiated in the State. I hope members will contribute articles in our bulletin and go about from place to place to explain to the people what they can do to assist in the war effort.

AT THE LECTURE BY PRINCIPAL KOLHATKAR ON
REGIONAL UNIVERSITIES AT THE VITTHAL KREEDA
BHAVAN, BARODA, 18-9-42.

I am sure you will all agree that Mr. Kolhatkar has given us a most instructive talk.

We are often told of the defects of the universities in India. I have asked myself whether such pessimistic estimates are justifiable. The main object of universities is to bring undergraduates into touch with the best that is thought and written and to produce men who will lead the country in all spheres of life. Judged from this point of view, our universities in the fifty to seventy-five years of their existence can claim achievements of which older universities can be proud. This, however, is no reason why we should not consider proposals for reforming them. Mr. Kolhatkar has made a reference to the Andhra University. I happen to have had something to do with the preparation of the Act which established that body. At that time, I heard strong arguments in favour of regional universities. There is certainly a case for them. In India, large areas have developed distinctive cultures, and regional universities are desirable to promote these cultures. But such universities should always place before the undergraduates the fundamental unity that underlies all these cultures. Only in this way can we eliminate the danger of separatism, always a real one in India.

Mr. Kolhatkar has dwelt on the need of employing the mother tongue as the medium of instruction even in the abstruser scientific subjects. He referred to the Osmania University which is having textbooks published in Urdu. But few of the regional universities can command the funds that the Osmania University does. When we talk of the services that regional universities can render, we should realise that higher scientific knowledge does not know barriers of language, or regional barriers.

When the Andhra University was established, we thought that a residential university would be preferable to an examining university. The influence on the life of the graduates and undergraduates which a residential university can exercise is *no negligible factor in education*. An attempt was made to constitute the Andhra University into a residential university, concentrating all colleges at a single centre. This failed owing to local sentiments. In the United Provinces, universities were multiplied and the Allahabad University was made a residential university. I do not know whether the committee that has been appointed for an university for Maharashtra will consider the desirability and possibility of concentrating all its educational activities in Poona.

In making these remarks, one should not forget that the war will revolutionise all ideas on the subject of universities. The war has stirred the young deeply and if universities are to be related to the deeper needs of society, much reshaping will be inevitable. Young men all over the world are asking themselves whether it is necessary that the flower of manhood in every country should kill one another every 20 or 25 years, and what should be done to prevent this. Only the other day, I was reading a book written by a young university man who joined the R. A. F. Books like these, and what we all see and hear, show how deeply interested young men are in the fundamental issues of life. Another movement that must come is one for a much higher standard of living for the masses than they enjoy at present. This will mean, among other things, a more intensive application of science to all aspects of life. Universities will

have to assist in reshaping thought on such vital problems arising out of the war and give a lead to the world.

I do not like to dogmatise: but I think there will be in future less talk of regional universities and more talk of cooperation among the universities of the world. We, in India, will take a much wider view of things than now and develop an all-India consciousness and a world outlook.

REMARKS AT THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL
CONFERENCES

AT MR. S. A. SUDHALKAR'S LECTURE ON "MY EXPERIENCE
OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION", 1-7-35.

I thank Mr. Sudhalkar for the interesting paper he has read.

The fundamental point that he has made is that the electorate should be educated. This is important. The voters should be taught to take interest in municipal administration and taught also to appreciate and press for a high standard of administration.

Municipalities in America have propaganda for educating the voters. They publish simple pamphlets which mention the amenities which the municipalities provide—how much is recovered from the people by way of taxes and what services are rendered in return, so that they may see that they get value for their money. Such simple lessons serve to remind people that if they want more amenities they should pay for them. I hope that something on these lines will be attempted by our municipalities.

Municipal administration in England has been referred to. There is one important respect in which our conditions differ from those in England. There is a fairly large well-to-do middle class in England, members of which can devote their entire time and attention to municipal problems. That is an advantage which countries economically strong like England possess and we, in India, do not. This accounts for some at least of the unsatisfactory features of municipal administration in India. The affairs of a municipal body require time and energy to manage and we cannot expect private gentlemen who have to practise their professions and are busy otherwise, to be able to spare all the time and energy needed.

There is another point I would like to mention. It is the relations between the Government and the municipalities. If the question is properly studied—and I should like our Study Circle to look into it—it will be found that, speaking generally, Government control

over municipal administration is not so rigid in India as in other countries.

To take England again, the auditor has powers of inspection and correction. When he goes to inspect a municipal body and cases of wasteful expenditure are reported, he conducts an investigation and if he finds that any expenditure incurred by the municipal body is unauthorised or wasteful, he directs the members who voted the amount to refund it to the municipal funds, and this is collected summarily from the members concerned.

Here in India, the Government interferes with the activities of the municipal bodies only when there is gross mismanagement. In such cases, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in order to safeguard the interests of the general public. On the one hand, there is the growing number of enthusiastic gentlemen who feel that it is their privilege to work for their own town or city. On the other, there is the Government who, without the least desire of interfering with the healthy growth of local self-governing institutions, has nevertheless the unpleasant duty of stepping in, when necessary, to prevent mismanagement.

These two are not conflicting factors. It is quite possible, with co-operation and good-will on both sides, to see that there is no interference in minute details which hampers growth and that the best non-official gentlemen find satisfaction in working for their cities and towns.

Regarding the constitution of our municipal bodies, experience has shown in Bombay and elsewhere that the 'Commissioner' system is the best suited to the larger cities. As you know, the constitution for the Baroda city is based on the same principle.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AT THE SPEECH BY DR. S. M. PAGAR
ON "SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION",

22-1-37.

The scope of the subject is almost unlimited. I think Dr. Pagar did well to lay stress on the essentials. The problem of rural reconstruction is this : how to create in about 80 per cent of the population of India a changed mental outlook ; how to give them the passion for a higher standard of living, the will to live better. You cannot effect a mental revolution like that among the enormous population in one year. It is a process which necessarily takes time, and success capable of being tested by statistical standards is not easy of achievement. The adoption of a long range policy by the Government is the only way of bringing about this revolution. Such a policy ought to be conceived broadly and carried out steadily and incessantly with infinite patience. In our own State, we are yet in the initial stages and work will have to be continued for many years. We, therefore, welcome every opportunity of having our attention drawn to the magnitude of the problems that are comprised in the term rural reconstruction. Interest in the subject in this State as well as outside is very keen and it behoves all officers to keep it alive. It is from this point of view that I welcome talks like the one we had today.

AT THE SPEECH BY MR. D. V. GAEKWAD ON "EFFICIENCY
IN OFFICES", 1-8-38.

Gentlemen, I am sure you will all like me to express our obligation to Mr. Damajirao for his paper. It is always good to know what qualities are expected in an efficient officer to have an ideal which we should make every effort to realise.

When an officer is recruited in any service he is not recruited for the work with which he is immediately entrusted but for the work which he will have to do after 10 or 15 years. Take for example, the Indian Civil Service. An officer recruited to it is started on work which trains him for duties which he will be called on to discharge after say ten years. This applies to every other service. Efficiency, therefore, means keeping fit all the time. An officer must be in constant training. He should take care that he does not develop middle-age habits of body and mind. Indolence of mind is a most insidious disease against which one ought to be always on guard. An officer must keep his mind alive—think clearly, express himself lucidly and develop resource and initiative.

I suggest that every officer should have a special subject of study which has nothing to do with his work and which will help to keep his mind thoroughly fit. Then, it is the duty of an officer to make himself an expert in his special field. For example, if he is a doctor he must be in touch with the latest developments in medical science; the same principle applies to engineers and the officers engaged in the general administration. Nowadays in every branch of administration developments are taking place rapidly and an officer cannot expect to be efficient unless he keeps in touch with them. This applies specially to the higher officers whose duty it is to advise Government on the formulation of policies.

Every officer should remember that the problem he deals with possesses a human interest. The Government frame rules in every branch of administration. As society changes and as problems change, the rules get out of accord with the conditions to meet which they

were originally framed. Unless officers are in touch with these conditions and they come forward with suggestions for the adaptation of the rules to changed circumstances, rules will become oppressive. There should be no hesitation on the part of officers to tell Government what rules have become out of date and how they should be changed. That is one of the most important functions of officers. Another important thing is the creation of good Service traditions. Every member of the Service should be proud that he belongs to an important organisation and feel that the good name of that organisation is in his charge. Unless this spirit is developed and every member feels that the good name of his department should be built up and should be fought for every day, we cannot have a really good Service which will command respect.

Before I conclude, I should like to mention one more point. Sometime ago, I asked that there should be a Study Circle to publish articles from time to time in the Blue Book quarterly on problems relating to Services. A study circle has been recently started and I hope that we shall have more articles dealing with Services published in the quarterly.

AT THE SPEECH BY MR. T. M. DESAI ON "IMPROVEMENTS NEEDED IN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT", 27-1-40.

The fundamental defect in India is the same whether with respect to local self-government or self-government in the wider i. e. the Central sphere. We cannot graft a modern democratic system on a social and economic system which goes back to the middle ages. We still think in terms of religion, caste or community in politics. There is no sense of common citizenship. Unfortunately those who should guide in these respects—educated men—are in many cases themselves

the exponents of such narrow ideas. I can see no prospect of successful democratic government under these conditions. We should all feel that we are citizens of our State or province and of India. If that spirit is developed, self-government will succeed.

Again, we are economically most backward. Mr. Desai stated that every town must be compelled to provide money for good water-supply, drainage and other amenities. Few towns are well enough off to afford all this. This applies to all social services in India: the economic foundation is so weak that only the most elementary of these services can be provided. In advanced countries, there is an economically strong middle class which can devote itself to honorary public service. *That is particularly important in the administration of local self-government.* In India, we do not possess such a middle class. Most of the district boards for example are run by busy lawyers who have to spend their time in the practice of their profession. To the extent that we develop a sense of citizenship and we improve our economic conditions, to that extent will self-government become more and more efficient. We cannot progress politically, unless we develop economically and socially.

AT THE SPEECH BY MR. S. V. MUKERJEA ON "GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND THE PUBLIC", 23-10-40.

Mr. Mukerjea has covered a wide ground. He has dealt with the subject on broad lines tracing the changes in the relations between Government servants and the public in the last few decades. The younger officers who are here will draw useful lessons from what has been said. There is no doubt that in India the problem is particularly complicated. The range of governmental functions is much wider in India than elsewhere. Everyone in India comes in contact with the

Government in many ways. In England, for example, it is different. One may live there for six months or a year without coming into contact with a single Government servant. This is an important distinction and should be borne in mind when we talk of establishing relations with the public.

Democratisation is inevitable in India. The old system, which Mr. Mukerjea referred to, when a Government servant issued orders and got them accepted, has gone. Now the people have a sense of their rights and ask to be convinced that orders are equitable.

Generally speaking, the right relationship between a Civil Servant and the public is one established in England over long decades. There a member of the Civil Service has no politics: his duty is to place all the facts before the Cabinet Minister to whatever party he may belong and carry out the orders issued.

The qualities a Civil Servant should possess are easily enumerated. He should of course be efficient. Efficiency means not merely knowledge of the rules relating to the particular branch of business entrusted to him but also ability to master difficult questions and to present facts in a logical manner. And efficiency must be continuous. A Government servant is recruited not for the work which he does when he enters the service but for work that he is going to do after, say, ten to fifteen years. That is a point which should always be remembered. The Civil Servant should keep himself fit throughout his service. It goes without saying that a public servant should be sympathetic and take interest in the people whom he is called upon to serve. He should realise that in India more than elsewhere, Government is not merely a matter of administering laws but also one of studying the temper of the people. That requires the gift of sympathy without which a public servant cannot be useful.

The Civil Servant in British India, under the new system, has to assist Ministers in framing policies. The Civil Servant cannot complain if the things he had hitherto regarded as fundamental are called in question, if he has to defend positions which he had been taught to think to be axiomatic.

Public servants especially those in an Indian State have to explain to the people the policies of the Government. This is an art which they will have to cultivate. Only so can they establish the closest relations between the people and the State. We, public servants, are drawn from a society which has its defects—cleavages based on caste and creed and religion. But we should rise superior to all these, build up traditions of service and impartiality and thereby serve as an example to others.

I hope, some day, one of the younger officials will write a paper on the same subject.

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